Tamil TIMES

Vol XI No.6 ISSN 0266-4488 15 MAY 1992 75p

Tenth Anniversary Special Issue

The Tenth Anniversary of Tamil Times fell in October 1991. Our wish to bring a special issue on that occasion was regrettably not fulfilled due to operational difficulties.

V. Prabhakaran, LTTE Leader

★ "Vanishing Hopes for Peace" – A Special Report

★ India Outlaws LTTE

★ "India & Sri Lanka Planning Joint Aggression – LTTE

★ LTTE's Response to Ban

★ Rajiv Gandhi's Murder – 41 Persons Charged

★ A Trail of Bitterness and Despair

★ Muslims and Tamils: 'A Family Divided'

★ Jayalalitha's War on the Press in Tamil Nadu

★ 'How India Saved the LTTE' – J.R. Jayawardene

★ The 'Liberated Islands' Without People

★ Who is Udugampola?

T.N. Chief Minister, Jayalalitha

★ Tenth Anniversary Messages

★ Towards a Consensus with Courage and Conviction' – Dr. P. Saravanamuttu

★ After a Decade – Editorial

TAPROBANE TRAVEL

Sincere Service since 1977

15 YEARS

Over 86,000 clients since 1977

COLOMBO

from £399 return

SPRING/SUMMER PRICE BUSTERS!

AIR LANKA	1/5 – 30/6	1/7 – 15/7 & 8/8 – 16/8	16/7 – 7/8
Tuesday/Thursday	**£400**	**£540**	**£590**
Sat/Sun	**£460**	**£540**	**£590**

(Child Fare 60% of Above)

KLM	1/5 – 30/6	1/7 – 15/7	16/7 – 15/8
Wednesday	**£399**	**£510**	**£550**
Saturday	**£420**	**£510**	**£550**

(Child Fare on Request)

ADD-ON FARE FROM MANCHESTER £30 ONLY

EMIRATE AIRLINES	1/5 – 30/6	1/7 – 15/9
	£435	**£525**

(Child Fare on Request)

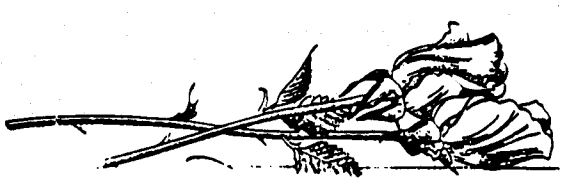
Also competitive fares to Singapore/KL, Bangkok, Hong Kong, Madras, Trichi, Trivandrum, Sydney, Melbourne, New York & Toronto

We now represent over 20 HOTELS *in Sri Lanka and organize tours/car hire through local agents*
AITKEN SPENCE TRAVEL *(Tour brochure and Hotel rates on request)*

FOR EFFICIENT, COURTEOUS SERVICE
phone our Travel Consultants

Kamini, Daphne, John or Upali

071-437-6272
071-734-9078/9
2ND FLOOR, 4 KINGLY STREET
LONDON W1R 5LF



IATA

CONTENTS

A Trail of Bitterness and Despair. 5
India bans LTTE. 6
Thondaman revives idea of Jaffna visit. .8
Amnesty protests at police intimidation. .9
Peace hopes vanishing in Sri Lanka. . .10
LTTE's defiant response to ban. 16
Ten Years of Tamil Times – Messages.17
People shun liberated islands. 26

Views expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the editor or the publishers.

Tamil TIMES

ISSN 0266-4488

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

UK/India/Sri Lanka. . .£10/US$30
Australia. . . . . .Aus$40
Canada. . . . . .Can$35
All other countries. . .£15/US$30

Published by

TAMIL TIMES LTD
P.O. BOX 121
SUTTON, SURREY SM1 3TD
UNITED KINGDOM

Phone: 081-644 0972

CONTENTS

Who is Udugampola?. 27
How India saved LTTE. 28
Cold War with Press in Tamil Nadu . . . 29
Letter from Mannar. 30
The case of Rajiv Gandhi's murder. . . .31
News in brief. 32
Book Review. 33
Readers Forum. 34

The publishers assume no responsibility for return of unsolicited manuscripts, photographs and artwork.

'I shall be asked whether I am a prince or a legislator that I write on politics. I reply that I am not; and that it is for this very reason that I write on politics. If I were a prince or a legislator, I should not waste time in saying what ought to be done; I should do it or remain silent'.

– Jean Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract.

AFTER A DECADE

TAMIL TIMES made its first appearance in October 1981 in the aftermath of the traumatic events including the burning of the Jaffna Public Library in May-June and soon followed by the island-wide communal violence against the Tamil community in August of that year. Sri Lanka earned international notoriety following the horrific scenes of generalised arson, murder and mayhem that accompanied the anti-Tamil pogrom of July 1983 and the flight of tens of thousands of people belonging to the island's Tamil community to neighbouring India and other foreign lands. Since then the island, once described as the pearl of the Indian Ocean, and its people, have experienced an era of violence and destruction unparalleled in its long history. Of late, the land that is supposed to have been 'blessed thrice' by The Buddha has come to be known as Asia's 'new killing fields'.

The decade witnessed the gradual erosion of democracy and devaluation of parliament in the context of an entrenched executive presidency invested with enormous powers unequalled by a head of state of any democratic country. Representative democracy was further undermined when the life of the parliament elected for a period of five years in 1977 was extended through the subterfuge of a rigged referendum. Deliberate attempts were made to subvert the independence of the judiciary through executive interference and inspired mob attacks on judges' homes. Ever since 1983, the country has been subjected to an officially proclaimed state of emergency under which many of the safeguards for the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms have remained suspended.

These years saw the institutionalisation of violence in the governance of the country. The force of reason and democratic discussion were replaced with the language of the bomb and the gun as the medium of political discourse.

The period between mid-1983 to mid-1987 also witnessed sustained military operations by government forces in the predominantly Tamil areas of the north and east. Although these operations were purported to be against Tamil militant groups, it was the general mass of the civilian population that suffered the most. During this period tens of thousands of young Tamils were rounded-up, transported to distant places and detained without trial in specially constructed detention centres where many of them were subjected to torture. Again tens of thousands of Tamils fled the country seeking refuge and security in foreign countries.

The Indian sponsored negotiations between the government of Sri Lanka and Tamil representatives held in 1985 at Thimpu in Bhutan resulted in failure. The continuing military operations by the government and its determined effort to subjugate Tamil resistance resulted in India flexing its military muscle. This was soon followed by the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of July 1987 leading to the setting up of Provincial Councils and the arrival of the Indian Peace Keeping Force. However the much hoped for peace was shattered by the commencement of the confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE in October 1987. During this confrontation which lasted until December 1989, the people were subjected to untold atrocities by the IPKF with a massive loss of lives and destruction of property particularly in the northern areas.

The period between late 1987 and early 1990 witnessed the resurgence of the JVP and its campaign of violence and terror in the south of the island. The government responded with a ruthless counter-insurgency campaign. The security forces and death squads of varying descriptions unleashed a brutal reign of uncontrolled terror in the course of which an estimated sixty to seventy thousand people were killed or 'disappeared'. There was a reduction in the scale of terror and counter-terror with the eventual capture and murder of most of the JVP leaders.

Elections to the newly set up Provincial Councils took place in November 1988. The LTTE called for a boycott of these elections, but the presence and support of the IPKF

Continued on page 4

Continued from page 3

ensured the victory of the non-LTTE Tamil groups with the EPRLF assuming the primary role. However, the EPRLF and its allied groups soon earned the justifiable wrath of the people when they engaged, in a futile attempt to confront the LTTE, in a campaign of forced recruitment of young Tamils to form what later came to be known as the Tamil National Army.

Ranasinghe Premadasa was elected President in December 1988 against the background of widespread violence. The commencement of negotiations between Premadasa's government and the LTTE in April 1989 which was followed by a ceasefire in the fighting between the Tigers and government forces – although the fighting between the IPKF and LTTE was continuing – was a most unexpected development. Tensions between Sri Lanka and India developed following a unilateral call by President Premadasa for the departure of the IPKF. As the IPKF began pulling out district by district from the autumn of 1989, fighting flared up between the LTTE and its rival Tamil groups in which the former emerged on top. With the eventual total withdrawal of the IPKF In March 1990, the Provincial administration collapsed as the Chief Minister and many of his colleagues fled the country, and the LTTE took virtual control of the north-east.

The past years also witnessed the tragic spectacle of the fratricidal internecine armed conflicts among Tamil militant groups in which over an estimated eight to nine hundred cadres, including many of its leaders lost their lives. In this suicidal display of mutual brutality and murder, the LTTE emerged victorious and became the most dominant of the Tamil militant groups. Even the leaders of the unarmed Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) fell victims to assassination for which the LTTE duly claimed responsibility.

There was much hope and expectation that the talks between Premadasa's government and the LTTE would bring about peace and normalcy. However, after fourteen months of negotiations, and within three months of the departure of the IPKF, what is now described as the 'Eelam War II' broke out on 10 June 1990 between government forces and the LTTE which is still continuing with unabated ferocity. This war has cost more lives and resulted in the destruction of more properties than at any time in the past, and has accelerated the dismemberment and dispersal of the island's Tamil-speaking community. An estimated million people have been internally displaced and have sought refuge in makeshift camps. The Jaffna peninsula particularly has been subjected to a virtual economic blockade and an indiscriminate bombing campaign. In a repeat performance of what they did at the height of the terror campaign in the south during 1988-90, the security forces have been responsible for the extra-judicial execution and disappearance of thousands of people, especially in the east of the country.

One of the most tragic developments in the course of 'Eelam War II' is the almost unbridgeable gulf that has already begun to separate the two Tamil-speaking communities in the north-east, the Tamils and the Muslims. The traditional unity that existed between both these communities, suffered almost an irretrievable blow by the cruel and unjustifiable enforced evacuation of the entirety of the Muslim population, estimated to be over fifty thousand people, from Jaffna, Mannar and other northern districts.

During the last ten years, TAMIL TIMES has sought to cover in its columns, news, reports and comments concerning the above developments and many other issues as objectively and truthfully as possible. Despite the hostility displayed by the government of Sri Lanka and its supporters, we did not hesitate to expose the atrocities committed against the Tamil people and its catalogue of attacks upon the democratic rights and fundamental freedoms of the people.

We also had our detractors and critics within the Tamil fold. So much so, on one occasion one irate Tamil reader criticised us for having 'opted to play fair' and for 'upholding the best of journalistic traditions' at a time when the Tamil community was facing grave danger!

We have sometimes been accused of 'having a hidden agenda'. Our agenda was set in October 1981 in our first ever editorial comment (see page 16 of this issue). In discharging our function, we have been guided by the principles and parameters we set for ourselves in that comment. Despite enormous pressures of various kinds, we have endeavoured to adhere to the spirit of the sentiments expressed in that comment. While we did not hesitate to comment on political questions, we held steadfastly to our resolve to remain independent and unaffiliated to any political party or group.

We are sometimes told that by our 'very title we declare a special interest. . .to inform the readership of the events affecting Sri Lanka from a Tamil point of view'. It is well to remember that we commenced publication with the promise that 'we are determined to make the TAMIL TIMES the standard bearer for the defence of democracy and human rights and a forum for discussion of political, social, economic and cultural' issues. Standing on that platform as we do, we do not consider that the duty to 'inform from a Tamil point of view' means that we should conceal information from our Tamil readers concerning the violations of democratic and human rights committed by any group comprising members of the Tamil community, or by those who claim to represent the Tamil community. Nor does it mean that we desist from commenting or providing space for information relating to such acts as forced recruitment or enrolment for the groups, abduction for ransom, arbitrary detention and torture, individual political assassinations, suppressing dissent or contrary views, absolute control and censorship of the printed media, proscription of rival political parties and groups, collective punishment meted out to a community by forcibly driving them out of their homes and turning them into refugees, etc. These acts touch the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people, and on the basis of our commitment, we have not remained silent or neutral on these issues. However, we have never been partisan or selective as between groups, parties or individuals. If we are perceived as focusing more attention on the activities of a particular group, it is not because we deliberately set out to be partisan or selective, but because of our recognition of the ground reality and the crucial role that such a group plays at a given period of time, and the impact those activities have on the development of the situation.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares that 'it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law'. The struggle should be against tyranny and oppression and for the protection of human rights, and TAMIL TIMES is committed to the defence of such a struggle.

A Trail of Bitterness and Despair

Rita Sebastian from Colombo

The recent massacre in a Muslim village in Polannaruwa, and the retaliatory violence against Tamils in two adjoining villages, has once again jolted Colombo into the realisation that the cycles of violence against innocent civilians, whether they be Sinhalese, Tamil or Muslim will continue until such time as a political solution is put in place.

The tragedy of Allichipathana, Muthugala and Karapola is that the Muslims and Tamils in the three villages lived side by side maintaining the best of relations and as a Tamil from Karapola very eloquently put it 'eating out of the same plate'. But the morning of April 30 was to bring home to them how fragile that relationship really was.

Their village brutalised, allegedly by the Tigers with the help of the Tamils from the neighbouring villages, saw the Muslims retaliate with the same unspeakable cruelty. Nobody was spared, not even little children.

Although the Muslims have identified by name, Tamil villagers who they say accompanied the Tigers, a senior police officer does not believe they did so voluntarily. If they went along with the Tigers as alleged, they must have been coerced he says to identify some of the Muslim households. The Tamil villagers have also identified some of their Muslim attackers.

What is very surprising however is that in that night of killing and looting, 54 policemen, comprising two platoons of 27 each, guarding Allichipothana and Karapola failed to provide the villagers with the protection expected from them. Most of them are believed to have fled the scene.

As usual politicians descended on the villages the next morning to direct rehabilitation efforts. Temporary accommodation in a school, tightened security and dry rations were part of the package. But what is tragic about it all is that the villagers must return to their homes on the edge of the jungle and live in constant fear of the next attack. The military has been quite open about the fact that they cannot provide security to every village that feels threatened.

Relevant to the issue now are the on-going investigations, both by the police and the three-member committee appointed by the government into the circumstances leading to the incidents, and those responsible. Since the Tigers are alleged to have been responsible for the massacre of Muslims, although they have denied their hand in it, what of the men responsible for the reprisal killings. Will they be held accountable?

Political observers in Colombo are disturbed by these incidents and speculate that possibly the situation in the northeast is getting out of control.

The ethnic conflict has again reached a no-win situation, the tragedy in Polonnaruwa leaving in its wake a trail of bitterness and despair neither the military or political forces in Sri Lanka appear at the moment to be capable of overcoming.

Meanwhile India's dilemma whether to ban the Tigers or not has had a mixed reaction in Colombo. Surprisingly the government controlled Daily News came out strongly on what it hoped would not be a change in India's attitude towards the Tigers. There is some concern that the anti-Tiger feeling in India following Rajiv Gandhi's assassination is not of the same intensity as it was immediately after the incident. There are genuine fears that with J.N. Dixit as Foreign Secretary there could possibly be a softening of India's attitude to the Tigers and using them as a lever against the Colombo government.

Indian officials in Colombo dismiss such speculation as unwarranted. What puzzles them however is the fact that while wanting India to ban the Tigers, Colombo is all out to open lines of communication with them. President Ranasinghe Premadasa is all for bringing the Tigers back to the negotiating table. But that prospect seems unlikely in the immediate future.

Muslims and Tamils : 'A Family Divided'

Rita Sebastian from Batticaloa

Batticaloa, (eastern Sri Lanka). If you stood on Kallady Bridge that spans the lagoon, with your ear tuned to the water below, you would hear the fish sing, they told you. We did when we were children and believed that we heard the town's famed singing fish. But not anymore though. The fish seem to have gone away. Driven away perhaps by the crack of gunfire and the exploding bombs and grenades in this east coast town.

Negotiating the innumerable roadblocks, and checking at the police and security posts right along the way from Polannaruwa to Batticaloa is an indication of what life in Batticaloa and the adjoining villages is like. There is an uneasy calm, needing just another incident to spark off the violence between the Tamil and Muslim communities, not forgetting the armed clashes between government forces and the Tigers.

The tensions between the two communities have surfaced again. And there is a palpable fear on both sides heightened by the massacre of Muslims in Allichipothana on April 30, followed by the reprisal killing of Tamils in the adjoining villages of Muthugala and Karapola.

Not everybody thinks the way Prarajasingham Joseph, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), Member of Parliament for Batticaloa does, that there is a 'third hand' deliberately trying to drive a wedge between the Tamils and the Muslims.

'Inspite of the occasional clashes, Muslims and Tamils in Batticaloa have lived like brothers. This is the first time that there has been reprisal killings of such magnitude' said Joseph, visiting Batticaloa to meet his constituents.

The root cause for the clashes, according to Joseph, are the Muslim homeguards, a para-military force of young men armed by the state to protect the Muslim villages, following two major massacres in the district in 1990.

'They are our only mental security' defends lawyer Abdul Javad, vice-President of the Federation of Mosques and Muslim institutions in Kattankudy, the Muslim village of 50,000 persons, 6 kms from Batticaloa town, described as the most densely populated village in Asia.

'We are surrounded by Tamil villages and are at the mercy of the Tigers. Our fishermen can no longer fish in the lagoon or the sea because they are inevitably picked up by the LTTE and killed' charges Javad.

An angry Javad feels very strongly that the Tigers are determined to drive the Muslims out of the three villages of Kattankudy, Eravur and Ottamavadi in the district, in their grand design for a Tamil Eelam. He also charges Israeli agents of promising the militants a weapon for every Muslim killed.

Continued on page 32

India Bans LTTE

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the dominant Sri Lankan Tamil militant group, was declared an 'unlawful organisation' and banned by the Indian authorities on 13 May.

In announcing the decision of the government, Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Shankarrao Chavan told the Indian parliament that the Tamil Tigers were a threat to the 'sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country'. He alleged that the LTTE was engaged in plotting 'the separation of Tamil Nadu from the rest of India and encouraging chauvinistic groups in Tamil Nadu to openly preach secession and engage in unlawful activities'.

Mr. Chavan also accused the LTTE of training Indian Tamils in the Jaffna peninsula in northern Sri Lanka, forming them into a group called the Tamil National Retrieval Army. India would call for the extradition of Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran and others involved in the assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, he added.

Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. M.M. Jacob told the Upper House of the Indian parliament that the CBI investigations had identified LTTE leader Prabhakaran as one of the prime suspects and that he and Pottu Amman had already been declared 'proclaimed offenders', and that steps were being taken 'as per procedure' for their extradition from Sri Lanka to India.

At a press conference in Colombo, President Premadasa's Special Adviser, Mr. Bradman Weerakoon, said that the LTTE leader could be extradited to India but 'the real problem, however, is how to catch the fellow'.

Immediately following the LTTE ban, the Tamil Nadu Police chief is reported to have ordered a massive flushing out operation of suspected Tamil Tiger cadres in the State. Warning that, following the banning of the LTTE, sheltering suspected Tigers would constitute a criminal offence, the police have instructed all citizens in the State to be on the alert when giving shelter to Sri Lankan Tamils, who are likely to be LTTE cadres or sympathisers seeking cover in Indian homes.

Angry Response by Tigers

Reacting angrily to the Indian ban on them, Tamil Tigers claimed in a statement that it was the Indian government which had in the past financed the LTTE and trained their cadres in guerrilla warfare.

The statement added that some statements made in India that the LTTE was a threat to India's integrity and that the LTTE had trained youths in Tamil Nadu and promoted separatist forces there were mere accusations to discredit the LTTE.

The banning of the LTTE by India had shown India's narrow national political interest and that it was motivated by its attempts to seek short term political gains. This particular ban on the LTTE was no surprise because this was part of India's continuous process of crushing the 'genuine struggle' of the Tamil people for their independence, the LTTE statement added.

LATE NEWS

Forty-one persons, including the LTTE leader, V. Prabhakaran and Pottu Amman – described as the LTTE's intelligence chief, were formally charged with offences on 20 May in a Madras Court in connection with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi on 21 May last year.

Of the 41 charged, four died in the bomb blast that killed Rajiv Gandhi, and eight committed suicide by swallowing the cyanide pill, a hallmark of Tiger cadres who are ordained by the leadership to take the pill when confronted by danger of being captured.

It is now officially confirmed that India has formally requested the Sri Lankan authorities to extradite the LTTE leader.

Reaction in Colombo

In the wake of the LTTE's ban in India, various political parties in Sri Lanka joined in a chorus of asking the government to take similar action against the LTTE, and the most vociferous of them have been the LTTE's rival Tamil groups.

On behalf of the main opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Mr. Anura Bandaranaike called upon the government to follow India's action and impose a ban on the LTTE. He said that if no concurrent action was taken to ban the LTTE in Sri Lanka, it would mean that there was some 'link between the Government and the LTTE'.

One of the main leaders of the newly formed Democratic United National Front (led by Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake), Mr. G.M. Premachandra said that India should be praised for banning the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government should not only ban the Tigers, but also should seek to arrest their leader Prabhakaran and hand him over to India.

Mr. Dinesh Gunewardene, leader of the MEP, said that the banning of the LTTE in India showed the whole world the true character of the LTTE and that the Sri Lankan government should follow the example of India.

Mr. Athauda Seneviratne of the LSSP said that it was of paramount importance to work in collaboration with India to solve the problem of the north and east, and Sri Lanka should follow India in banning the LTTE.

Mr. K.P. Silva, General Secretary of the Communist Party, said that the decision made by India to impose a ban on the LTTE was a victory for the patriotic people of Sri Lanka who did not wish to lose the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. It was not surprising that the Indian government banned the LTTE considering the activities of the LTTE on Indian soil, and that the action taken by India would prevent the LTTE using Indian territory to perpetrate further crimes, he added.

Mr. N. Sri Kantha, political adviser to the Tamil group TELO, said they wholeheartedly welcomed the ban on the LTTE by India. It was going to be a turning point in the history of the ethnic conflict. Internationally, it would help to isolate the LTTE further. The decision of the Indian government to ban the LTTE was inevitable given LTTE's involvement in activities to destabilise India, assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and the murder of the EPRLF leader Padmanabha on Indian soil. However, the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu should not be penalised for the crimes of the LTTE, he added.

EPRLF General Secretary, Suresh Premachandran said that his party welcomed the banning of the LTTE, and the government of Sri Lanka should use this opportunity to solve the ethnic problem because the LTTE was now in a 'tight spot'.

A spokesman for PLOTE, another Tamil militant group, said that the Indian government by its action had demonstrated its total opposition to terrorism in any form and shown its friendly and cooperative attitude to the people of Sri Lanka.

Cabinet Minister and leader of the Ceylon Workers Congress, S. Thondaman, is reported to have said, 'Based on the interests of the Indian Government, it has banned the LTTE. It is not for me to welcome it or not to welcome it'.

Forces beef marine security against LTTE

The fish around the coast of Tamil Nadu must be wondering why the sea is rattling with the sound of sophisticated weaponry and security personnel armed to the teeth. The answer is that another attempt is being made to tighten the noose around the LTTE following its recent threat to kill prominent officials and politicians. The new security ring consists of three tiers: the state police, the navy and the para-military forces. The aim is to throttle infiltration by LTTE activists and the smuggling of arms, diesel and rice.

Specially-trained anti-sabotage units are guarding all the major intersections leading to the coast. The movement of every single vessel and fisherman is scrutinised and intelligence units have even moved into the villages and towns dotting the coastline to keep an eye on things.

One unexpected casualty of the security clampdown is Point Calimere, the famous flamingo sanctuary. Ever since the navy took over the guest-house inside the sanctuary, bird lovers have been deterred from coming and their numbers have dwindled. The fervent hope of the security forces is that the activities of the LTTE will dwindle as well.

M. Prakash,
(India Today, May 31. 1992).

'Respect Rights of Non-Combatants' – Asia Watch

The Washington based human rights group, Asia Watch, has called upon the government forces and the Tigers not to engage in indiscriminate military action thus endangering the lives of non-combatants.

In a statement issued on April 23 the human rights group has expressed concern over the possibility of an escalation of fighting in the north, particularly in the Jaffna peninsula itself where the government forces were preparing for a fresh offensive with troop reinforcements from the South.

Blaming both the Tigers and the government forces for gross abuses against civilians and indiscriminate military activity in highly residential areas the group has urged them to honour the rights of the non-combatants.

The group stated that massacres of civilians, illegal detention, torture, reprisals, bombardment of civilians, wide and indiscriminate use of mines, extra judicial killings, use of civi- ns as human shields, taking hostages, attacks against medical facilities, places of worship, driving out civilians from their villages had become 'routine' in the north east conflict.

With a view to keep down the number of civilian casualties Asia Watch has told the opposing parties to refrain from the following action proscribed by the laws relating to armed conflict:

- Deliberate killing of non-combatants.
- Indiscriminate attacks in civilian areas, including by bombardment or the use of contract land mines.
- Attacks causing disproportionate harm to civilians or civilian objects.
- Attacks in civilian areas in which all feasible steps are not taken to avoid collateral civilian casualties.
- Reprisals against non-combatants by acts of violence or destruction of property.
- Torture and other deliberate mistreatment of any person.
- Subjecting non-combatants to adverse distinction in the duty to treat them humanely because of their religion or ethnic background.
- Using non-combatants as human shields to protect a warring party from enemy fire or to detect mine fields.
- Taking or using non-combatants as hostages.
- Summarily executing or punishing persons suspected of participating in a rebellion or aiding enemy forces.
- Imposing any punishment for a criminal offence without a trial before an independent and impartial tribunal affording fundamental due process right, and:
- Attacks on medical facilities and places of worship that are being used for humanitarian purposes.

Opposition Calls for President's Resignation

Opposition Leader, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike has challenged President Premadasa to resign and face her in a fresh presidential election following the political storm over Deputy Inspector General of Police P. Udugampola's recent disclosures.

Mr. Udugampola's allegations seriously reflected on President Premadasa and his government, and the President should resign and accept her challenge to face her at an election, she added.

Addressing a recent press conference, Mrs. Bandaranaike said that the public statements issued by Mr. Udugampola have opened up several areas of controversy between him and his superiors. Although she did not have all the facts, enough had been said to point the finger of accusation against many persons who had occupied and are occupying positions of power and importance in the public life of the country.

Meanwhile, seven opposition political parties also have called upon the President and his government to resign in the wake of the DIG's allegations and the report by the Commissioner of Elections on the 1989 presidential and parliamentary elections. They also called for an independent Commission of Inquiry to probe the allegations.

'India and Sri Lanka Planning Joint Aggression' – LTTE

The LTTE has accused that India in collaboration with the Sri Lankan Government has prepared a 'three-point plan of aggression against Tamil Eelam'.

According to an article in its Tamil weekly *'Kalaththil'*, the three points of the plan are:

★ To create an alternative leadership among the Tamils to that of the LTTE;

★ To falsely implicate V. Prabhakaran and other important leaders of the LTTE in criminal offenses, and thereby seek to legitimise their aggression under the pretext of attempting to capture them; and

★ To first drop Sri Lankan troops in areas where the LTTE leaders are presumed to operate from, and thereafter Indian special troops would follow in order to support the Sri Lankan soldiers. For this purpose, India has already anchored in the Bay of Bengal off the coast of Sri Lanka two Naval Vessels carrying special troops, who are proficient in Tamil.

The article adds that the two governments are already undertaking joint preparations according to the above plan, and that by making false criminal

Continued on page 8

Continued from page 7

charges against the LTTE leaders, the Indian government was seeking to portray them as criminals before the international community.

It is in this attempt to create an alternative leadership that the TULF leaders were recently invited for talks in New Delhi where, for the purpose of reorganising the party, the Indian government gave them Rs.10 million, the article alleges.

Thondaman Revives Idea of Going to Jaffna

Cabinet Minister and President of the Ceylon Workers Congress, S. Thondaman, has stated that he would visit Jaffna on a peace mission if the Parliamentary Select Committee proposals fail to bring about a political solution.

Mr. Thondaman, whose earlier plans to visit Jaffna to talk with LTTE leaders were aborted following a hysterical propaganda backlash from extremist chauvinist forces in the south of the island, said in the press interview, 'Nobody can stop me now, since a Buddhist delegation has also visited Jaffna on a peace mission'.

The CWC leader promised that he would do everything possible to find a solution through the Select Committee. 'As a member of the Committee, I have confidence in it. I am an optimist and I believe in negotiations'. However if it failed, he would undertake his own initiative.

Mr. Thondaman stressed the need to evolve a consensus of all parties, which was the essence of the democratic system. He welcomed any move by any party to bring about a settlement of the northeast problem. Referring particularly to the Buddhist and Catholic peace missions that visited Jaffna recently, he said that their visits had helped to bring about a deeper understanding of the ethnic problem.

'Police Acted Unconstitutionally'

The Supreme Court recently held that in sealing and closing down the 'Nawagama Printers' (see *Tamil Times*, November 1991, p.6), where the Sinhala journal *Yukthiya* published by the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality was being printed, the police had acted unconstitutionally and in breach of the fundamental rights of its proprietor, Kelly Senanayake.

In a unanimous judgment by three judges, the Court ordered that the State should pay forthwith a sum of Rs. 25,000 as compensation.

In his petition to the court, Mr. Senanayake had said that at the time the police raided his press on 4 October 1991, a booklet titled 'Casino Raja Joe Sim Saha Premadasa Nadaya' was in the process of being printed, and that the booklet contained photographs of prominent politicians seen with Joe Sim who was deported from Sri Lanka some time earlier. Having sealed the premises and the press on the day of the raid, the police left two officers on guard outside. But some police officers entered the premises a few days later on 9 October 1991 and damaged the printing machine and other equipment resulting in damage assessed at Rs.750,000, the petition added.

In rejecting the police version of events put forward by the Attorney General's Department that the printing machine was already in a damaged and dismantled state when the police first raided the press on 4 October, one of the judges said, 'We have outgrown the age of believing in fairy tales but can recognise them for what they are. I am satisfied that the wanton damage has been caused to the printing press by the police who were in control of it between October 4, 1991 and December 12, 1991 and they have made a false entry to the effect that they found the printing machine was already dismantled'.

The court, pointing out certain procedural omissions, stated that Mr. Senanayake could claim his Rs.750,000 damages from elsewhere meaning the civil court.

'Entitled to Receive Communication in Tamil'

A fundamental rights petition filed by an estate worker stated that under the Constitution of Sri Lanka, he was entitled to receive communications in the Tamil language, which was the only language he was able to read, write and understand, was settled before the Supreme Court when the Deputy Solicitor General informed the court that the letter sent in the English language would be withdrawn.

In this case, an estate worker Mariappan Wijeratnam of Lower Lawrence Division Venture State Plantation, Norwood, in his fundamental rights petition had stated that he was in occupation of a building erected on a piece of land of Venture State Plantation. On 14 November 1988, he was served with a document in the English language and informed by the Superintendent of the estate that he should vacate the said building by the end of 1988. He was not able to understand the contents of the document as it was in the English language.

Again on 7 November 1991 he was served with a document in the English language which he later learned was a notice to quit.

The petitioner contended that he was entitled under Article 22(2) of the Constitution to receive the communication in the Tamil language which was the only language he was able to read, write and understand. The serving of the said notice in English was a violation of language rights under the Constitution.

25,000 Tamils Claim Asylum in Europe

Reports submitted to the European Consultation on Refugees and Exiles in Madrid in early April say almost 25,000 Sri Lankan Tamils claimed asylum in European countries in 1991.

Switzerland has now become the prime destination with 7,349 arrivals last year, many from other European countries say immigration officials attracted by the thriving black economy in the tourist and hotel trade. More than 5,000 arrived in Germany and almost 4,000 in Britain.

Fewer than 5% of Sri Lankan applicants gain refugee status in European countries. Most are given temporary status or are refused outright but are allowed to remain in the country while lengthy legal appeals continue. The honourable exception remains France where 68% of 3,398 Tamil asylum seekers were given refugee status in 1991.

But there is a new wave of right-wing racism in European countries. ECRE reports over 2,000 racist attacks in Germany last year, a ten-fold increase, many often directed at refugees. Tamil asylum seeker Sekharam Ratnakesan had his right leg sliced off by the Saarbrucken to Mainz express after right-wing thugs drugged him and dumped him unconscious on a railway line in southern Germany last October. To escape the

north-east war, most Sri Lankans fall prey to the notorious Colombo 'travel agencies' who specialise in spiriting asylum-seekers to Western destinations on forged papers for Rs.400,000 ($10,000). In mid-March, Colombo police announced a new crackdown on refugee racketeers who many observers say are heavily taxed by the LTTE.

The expatriate refugee population has become a valuable resource for LTTE fundraising worldwide. Colombo papers claimed this month that Tamil refugees in Germany and other European countries pay a compulsory $60 a month tax to the north-east war effort. The *Toronto Star* broke a story a few weeks ago linking Tamil refugees forging Canadian passports to a heroin-smuggling ring.

At the other end of the scale are the victims, asylum-seekers duped by the Colombo refugee mafia, abandoned in Bangkok or Nairobi hotel rooms or on the Yugoslav border. The Norwegian daily *Soendag Afterposten* reported this month on almost 100 Sri Lankan Tamils stranded in Albania after a LTTE 'package tour' went wrong.

(Sri Lanka Monitor).

Muslim Students Displaced

Mr. S.S.M. Abu Bukhar, MP, belonging to the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress, told parliament recently that over 10,000 Muslim students displaced from the Mannar area were still in refugee camps in Puttalam and Kurunegala. But some Muslim teachers had been asked to take up duties in Mannar.

The teachers had been drawing their salaries in Mannar for the last six months. They had no students to teach. Public funds were being wasted this way. Injustices were being done to the Muslim students. The MP had asked why the teachers, numbering nearly one hundred, should go to Mannar when not a single school had been opened.

A recent newspaper announcement urged the Muslim teachers, principals and other school staff to return to their schools in Mannar before April 20. He asked why the government was destroying the education of over 10,000 Muslim students displaced from Mannar and now living in refugee camps.

Hindu College to be Reopened

President Ranasinghe Premadasa yesterday directed that Hindu College in Ratmalana, which was shut down in 1983 after the disturbances, should be renovated and reopened.

He gave this directive after he visited the school and inspected the premises and buildings which are now occupied by a few army officers.

Hindu College Ratmalana which has a link with Bambalapitiya Hindu College had a student population of 2000 children upto Advanced Level classes. It had a beautiful playground and a well equipped laboratory which was damaged in the '83 disturbances.

The Secretary of the Hindu Educational Society, Dr. K. Velayuthapillai, told the President that the school was founded in 1951. The foundation stones of the two blocks were laid by Sir John Kotelawela. The school occupied 50 acres. It was taken over by the government in 1964, during the schools takeover and till 1983 had been a leading Hindu college in the country.

After the school was closed the students and teachers were scattered among schools in Colombo and the suburbs. Though basically a Tamil medium school, it had a Sinhala stream too.

The President remarked that the school had solid buildings which could be restored.

He directed that planned development of the school should begin forthwith in consultation with the Western Provincial Council. The reopening of the school would enable displaced students to be accommodated.

Dr. Velayuthapillai said they were grateful for the President's decision, it would be a boon to Tamil students who were in great need of schooling. The Hindu Educational Society would be happy to help in the renovation and provide equipment with the resources at its command.

Amnesty Protests Against Police Intimidation

Amnesty International is concerned about continuing reports of intimidation and threats against a number of witnesses currently appearing before the Anuradhapura magistrate's court, which is hearing evidence about the alleged rape and extrajudicial execution of a young woman, W. Chandrawathie, by police officers in September 1990.

The relatives of W. Chandrawathie of Eppawala, Anuradhapura district, have received several threats since the opening of the magisterial inquiry into her death. Her brother, W.C. Neal Rajapakse, was arrested on the first day of the inquiry at the end of February 1992 by officers of the Anuradhapura police and held at Anuradhapura police station for twelve days. He was unconditionally released, apparently after several officials, including the Attorney General, intervened in his case. He claims he was beaten during his detention and questioned about the inquiry. He has since received threatening phone calls at his place of work. Apparently, the caller has repeatedly urged him 'not to go to court or face the consequences'.

W. Chandrawathie's father, W. Charles, one of several people who identified a Sub-Inspector of police and a constable of the Eppawala police as being responsible for her rape, has also been repeatedly threatened. On 2 April 1992, a group of six men, believed to be members of the Anuradhapura police, came to his home at Eppawala and threatened him. They also asked for W.C Neal Rajapakse. In mid-March, the judge hearing the evidence about the alleged rape and killing, had instructed 'the officers-in-charge of Anuradhapura and Eppawala police stations to warn officers there not to intimidate or influence the witnesses in this case' (*Daily News*, Colombo of 17 March 1992). Complaints about the intimidation have also been made to the Inspector General of Police, but to date no investigation into its continuation has taken place.

W. Chandrawathie was reportedly forcibly taken from her home at Eppawala on the night of 26 September 1990 by a Sub-Inspector of police accompanied by other officers of the Eppawala police station. Her father and other relatives allege she was dragged into the nearby jungle and raped by the Sub-Inspector, who subsequently shot her. They also allege that her body was later burnt on tyres at a nearby quarry. When they tried to register a complaint, officials at the local police station refused to assist them. they then contacted the Deputy Inspector General of Police of the area, who initiated investigations, the results of which are presently being presented to the magistrate's court.

Amnesty International understands that the Sub-Inspector and a constable suspected of the rape and killing of W. Chandrawathie surrendered to the court in early 1992 and are presently held at Anuradhapura prison.

Vanishing Hopes for Peace in Sri Lanka

by Raimund Morgenstern, Germany

After two years of a dramatic setback in the number of visitors, for many people living in the Western countries Sri Lanka again has become the 'paradise island' and most of the newspapers in these countries have ceased to publish frightening news items on all the atrocities and the sufferings that are the result of the ongoing civil war. In addition, several statements by western politicians have given the impression of improvements (e.g. in the human rights situation). It seems that after a long time normalcy has returned to Sri Lanka. But this is a deceitful picture which has not just led to an end of any sympathies for Tamil refugees, moreover it is in deep contrast to the real situation prevailing in the island. More than 20 months after the latest breakout of fighting in the North as well as in the East, no perspectives for a peaceful solution can be seen. The country is in a worse state than ever before since independence while the different aspects of the conflict are becoming more and more complicated. None of the parties that are involved in the armed struggle is able to think about a non-military solution – negotiations are out of sight. Desperate people in the North, guerrilla war and countless refugee camps in the East, a new rise of the JVP in the South – these are catchwords which may be used to describe the current situation in Sri Lanka. The following report is based on a visit to the country during March 1992.

It is quite difficult to find an appropriate headline for an article on the current Sri Lankan situation. There is not a single promising aspect within the latest political developments. Especially after the failure of the proposals and the peace initiative of the Minister for Tourism and leader of the Ceylon Workers Congress, S. Thondaman, (after a tremendous outcry from nationalist Buddhist hardliners), there appears to be no signs for the beginning of a peace process. In the aftermath of the suffered defeat in the fight around Elephant Pass, the 'Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam' (LTTE) have indicated their willingness for negotiations. But from the history of this conflict, it seems to be likely that there is not a real interest in an end of military operations but only a need for time to gain new strength and the preparation for a new wave of bloody war. On the other side, the reaction of Sri Lankan politicians in Colombo about what is happening in the country is, by and large characterized by ignorance and silence. The public opinion, represented by newspapers and the government-controlled broadcasting services do not at all reflect the real problems of Sri Lanka or show any awareness regarding the ethnic conflict.

Living in the North

Living conditions for people in the North of Sri Lanka can only be described as a total breakdown of any normal civil life. Out of the latest political developments and perspectives (see below), the mood of most of the inhabitants of the Jaffna peninsula and certain areas south of the Elephant Pass is one of total desperation. For a visitor from outside it is hard to believe how people are able to survive under the prevailing situation. People don't talk much about their fate, but most of them emphasize that they are more than fed up with the current living conditions. They feel caught between both sides and they don't expect anything positive either from the army or from LTTE. Only a few people believe that the Tigers will protect Tamil civilians in case of an army attack, it is more likely that the militants will use civilians as human shields to protect themselves.

Whatever happens in the near future, people are quite conscious about the fact of having no way to escape. Apart from the physical injuries people have had to sustain in the course of bombing raids by the Sri Lankan air force, many inhabitants suffer from psychic problems caused by these incidents. More and more persons have experienced torture. As one consequence the number of suicides has increased sharply within the last months. In January 1992 more than 60 cases have been reported officially. Almost all of the former traditional social structures within families have been destroyed. Many of the parents, who have sent their children abroad, will not have a chance to see them again in their lifetime. Young adults can hardly live a normal social life in the context of various threats. The war has changed the people for generations.

Just to mention one of the many aspects of social changes: There is a rising number of women, who have to earn the livelihood for themselves and their children, because their husbands either have been killed in the violence, have disappeared, or are kept as prisoners in one of the detention camps. There is no adequate support for these women.

Travelling between Colombo and Jaffna

Whoever is travelling between Jaffna and the Sri Lankan capital has to face conditions which might have prevailed during the last century in other countries. This is mainly caused by the fact that it takes normally about 30 hours to cover a distance of less than 250 miles. Colombo can be reached from any other place in the world much faster than from Jaffna. But travelling is also unique with respect to the available transport facilities: Travellers have to cope with trains, minibuses, tractors, bullock-carts, nutshell-size fishing boats and bicycles. In addition people have to walk dozens of miles on roads and sandy areas as well as to wade through deep mud (up to the hips). Day after day thousands of people are travelling in this manner.

Starting from Colombo, the first half of the distance is left behind after five hours of train journey. But difficulties start from the arrival at the Vavuniya railway station. After a short transfer by CTB buses, people have to queue in front of a large army checkpoint at Thandikkulam. Without any exception all persons have to undergo a detailed examination of their luggage. The checking is carried out by army personnel, who don't show any consideration for the travellers. After waiting for hours, bags are turned upside down; breakable things won't reach their destination. For most of the travelling Tamils this procedure is rather humiliating without doubt. Finally another bus service provides transport up to the unofficial frontline. A large board kindly warns: 'Beyond this point you're at your own risk', before people are heading into the so-called 'no-man's land'. For a distance of approximately 1.5 miles travellers walk between both fronts, passing within firing range of soldiers behind sandbag barriers, who are expecting an attack from the opposite side any moment. After passing the checkpoints of the LTTE successfully there is a possibility of minibus travel up to Paranathan (north of Kilinochchi). Buses are running with a mixture of kerosene and vegetable oil; passengers currently have to pay about 700 Rupees for a ticket. All travel fares for the different vehicles between Omanthai and Jaffna cost up to 1200 – 1500 Rupees (200 Rupees from Colombo in former times). The roads in the North are in a deplorable condition. Especially between Mankulam and Murikandi, walking seems to be faster than bumping through deep holes by bus.

Officially there is no access to the Jaffna peninsula at the moment.

Nevertheless people are using small fishing boats, crossing the Jaffna Lagoon east of Elephant Pass. Sri Lankan officials deny the existence of the boat-link, but they tolerate the movement of people on this last connection between the peninsula and the mainland. Boats usually are overloaded and it takes more than two hours to reach the opposite side of the lagoon. For the next months another hardship for the people is already in sight: Due to the climate the level of water becomes low. Probably from the end of April boat services will be unable to continue their operation. It is not hard to imagine what it will mean to cross the lagoon by foot. Already now a lot of people are hardly able to cover the five miles of walk from the main road to the lagoon beach. After reaching the peninsula, again mini buses are available to take passengers up to Jaffna town (35 miles away).

All regulations imposed by the LTTE on leaving the north for a limited period of time or permanently are still in effect: People have to pay at least 10,000 to 15,000 Rupees to get a travel permit. Persons from 12 years up to 25 years of age (male and female) are not allowed to leave Jaffna or the North at all – they are required as potential LTTE cadres. Data of travelling persons and their permits is carefully kept and managed under use of a computer system of the Jaffna University. There are properly printed lists at the southern LTTE checkpoint of Omanthai, where travellers have to confirm their permission to leave 'Tamil Eelam'. Travellers to the South have to apply for a stamp by Sri Lankan army at Thandikkulam. These stamps act as an official acceptance of passing the checkpoint on the indicated day – an essential help for the security forces during roundups of Tamils in the capital.

In addition to the general hardships, it has become general practice for the army as well as the LTTE to open the checkpoints not longer than two hours per day. People have to approach these places in time, otherwise they get stuck and have to wait for nearly one day without any facilities. However, and again, checkpoints are closed for several days without any announcements.

During the last two months lorry convoys were allowed to cross the fronts without undue delay. Both sides seem to have accepted the need for a regular supply for the civil population. To avoid bomb attacks, the army insists on a 24 hours rest for all lorries coming from the North.

General political situation

Within the last few months the Sri Lankan army has gained little, but (at least from the strategic point of view) important ground. Whereas the frontline close to Vavuniya has moved ahead only a few miles and still there is no access for government forces onto all areas north to that line, all of the islands around Jaffna peninsula (i.e. Delft, Punkudutivu, Karaitivu, Kayts, Mandaitivu) have been occupied by the army again. And even inside the peninsula the army controlled area – especially around Palali air base – has expanded. From this point of view, obviously the strategic position of the army is quite suitable for an offensive upon Jaffna town. And indeed there were countless rumours, supported by news items in the papers, about an overall attack since December 1991. In the early days of February 1992 people were expecting the beginning of large military operations almost every day. Fears were rising of an offensive after the conference of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Paris.

A lot of people, especially among the forces, are speaking in favour of an offensive. The fact is that a military attack on Jaffna town would lead to tens of thousands of civilian victims (more than fifty percent of the peninsula population is staying in Jaffna or close to the town). Despite that, the desired final stroke against the LTTE can hardly be achieved by a general offensive. One only has to refer to the experiences in the East of Sri Lanka. As in the eastern jungles, the LTTE's knowledge of places in the North is still superior to the Sri Lankan soldiers. LTTE has proved more than once their ability to escape from a situation of siege.

Though unofficial, the Sri Lankan government still applies an economic blockade of the North of the island. The list of prohibited items that are not allowed to be taken to the affected northern areas has not changed since last year – still including several goods essential for saving human life (i.e. drugs). Since the outbreak of hostilities in June 90 the electrical power supply is cut, now (as mentioned) there is no official communication between Jaffna and the mainland – the peninsula is close to or already in a state of total isolation from the rest of the country.

Since LTTE is the only power in the North, they are about to establish a strictly controlled civil administration covering the whole area. In the presence of a pending army offensive they are also preparing themselves for the expected fight. Everywhere new underground bunkers are being built up, existing sentry points are being reactivated or extended. The old Dutch Fort at Jaffna is one of the places of main interest for the Tamil Tigers. The ruins of the Jaffna Library already look like a fortress with sandbag barriers and observation posts. All activities of preparation for war are accompanied by an intensive propaganda campaign. Similar to the strategy the LTTE applied during the fighting around Elephant Pass, this time also the civilians are being called upon to make their contribution for leading the militants to victory. Recruitment continues at a fast pace for the 'final battle'. Still there are some volunteers who decide to join the 'movement', but more and more of the recruitment (mainly boys and girls up from 11 years of age) take place by putting pressure upon parents.

While the situation becomes more and more critical, the LTTE's attitude towards the Tamil civilians can be characterized by a behaviour of increasing ruthlessness and brutality. Any kind of contradiction or mere doubt against the official LTTE doctrine is suppressed without exception. In many areas detention camps have been built up (i.e. Jaffna Fort). Most of these places are not just used to keep people in custody. There are reliable reports of torture and executions in these camps.

Compared to the situation in 1989-1990, serious military incidents have become rare during the last months. Therefore the picture of destruction which appears to visitors in all major places inside the peninsula (Jaffna, Valvedditurai, Point Pedro) has not changed much – almost everything has already been destroyed during the last two years of indiscriminate bombing. Mainly during night time there is single but regular gunfire from the surrounding islands onto selected targets. Similar operations are carried out during daylight by helicopters and other aircraft. It was in one of these operations that three civilians were hit by grenade fragments and killed on the spot in a fish market at Point Pedro in February. All these incidents take place without warning which presents a continuous risk to all persons living in all parts of the peninsula. Sri Lankan government and army have become used to impose curfews upon the whole northern area of the country whenever they expect LTTE activities. These curfews last for days without any opportunity for the civilians to supply themselves with food stuff or other items for daily life.

In contrast to the Jaffna situation which is characterized by a tensed but comparatively quiet atmosphere,

Continued on page 13

Glen Carriers Limited

14, Allied Way, Off Warple Way, Acton, London W3 0RQ
Tel: 081-740 8379, 081-749 0595, 081-743 7353
Fax: 081-740 4229 Tlx: 929657 GLENCA G

Colombo Agent
Laksiri Seva (Pvt.) Ltd;

VAT Free tropicalised goods supplies for export.
We also handle Commercial Cargo.
We collect we pack, we insure.

TRAVEL
– Sales Agent for Air Lanka.
We offer you most economical & competitive fares, on all schedule flights to Sri Lanka and other worldwide destinations.

SHIPPING
– We offer you personalised service in London and Colombo, Customs clearance outside the port at our agent's Laksiri Seva Bonded Warehouse. Vehicles available to Transport your goods to any destination.

OUR CHARGES
– 1st 5 cu. ft. or Tea Chest £20.00
Additional Tea Chest £17.50 or £3.50 per cu. ft.

AIR FREIGHT
– Unaccompanied Baggage regularly to Colombo and other destinations.

GLEN CARRIERS

BALA & ARI

Solicitors and Administrators of Oaths
We offer friendly legal service on

- Conveyancing (Sale and Purchase-houses, Flats Commercial property)
- Partnership agreement, Power of attorney, last wills etc.
- Immigration
- Divorce and Matrimonial
- Civil and Criminal Litigation
- Landlord and Tenant
- Employment

Legal Aid also available
Please Ring
B. Balaraman or S. Aravindan
Address: First Floor, 484 Katharine Road, Forest Gate, London E7
Telephone: 081-503 5034

JEEVES AND CO.

Do you require assistance with your accounts, payroll, VAT returns or personal tax returns? Are you claiming all the right allowances? If you have, or are about to start your own business, we can help you by preparing your accounts and advise you on all financial matters.

For prompt, efficient and professional service at a reasonable cost, ring:

JEEVES AND CO.
on 081-655-3272 (24 Hours)

MULTIFINANCE

176 SYDENHAM ROAD, SE26

MOTOR
- Fast cars
- Young drivers
- Convictions, etc.

HOUSEHOLD
- Contents and Buildings
- Commercial and Domestic Funding

COMMERCIAL
- Business Insurance
- Liability
- Indemnity, etc.

PHONE KUGAN ON 081-778 1111

Experienced in the Insurance Industry for over 20 years.

WE EXCEL IN THE PERSONAL SERVICE WE PROVIDE

Continued from page 11

there is continuous fighting within the Vavuniya and Mullaitivu districts. These shootouts cause high numbers of casualties on both sides. Quite often these confrontations take place in the area which is crossed by thousands of civilians on their way from or to Jaffna and cause a high death toll among them.

LTTE in Jaffna

The LTTE has developed several methods to create a consciousness of their doctrine in the minds of the people of Jaffna. First of all there is a large number of boards presenting slogans and praising martyrs of the 'Tamil Struggle'. Recent political events are commented by cartoon boards. Even the youngest and smallest ones should be reached by the propaganda machinery of the Tigers: They have opened several playgrounds for children (i.e. Jaffna, Point Pedro) to attract the sympathies of the children. All of them are well equipped with the symbols of the 'liberation movement' and memorials for killed cadres; the Point Pedro playground invites children to capture a small replica of the Jaffna Fort.

Daily life in Jaffna is accompanied by transmissions through several loudspeakers. The contents of these transmissions is simple but effective: Famous talks of LTTE leaders, situation reports, war songs and music for all age groups of the population ('Black Tiger Miller, we'll follow you . . .', 'Tiger Uncle, may I join you?'). A radio transmitter has been installed. The radio program is produced in quite a professional way – no chance for the 'Eelam Peoples Democratic Party' (EPDP) to compete, even if they are using the army equipment at Palali. Listening to the radio often comes along with a bicycle ride out, for people find it difficult to operate their radios in their homes for lack of batteries.

To catch the interest and the voices of even the poorest people, the Tigers have installed 'Community Centres' in small villages. Villagers get the opportunity to gather inside the centre building not just to discuss their own problems but also to receive a portion of LTTE propaganda. All heads of the centres are sympathetic with the politics of the militants. Usually they appear as speakers announcing their own opinion as the opinion of the villagers.

Jaffna University is functioning normally – whatever this adjective means under the current circumstances. Approximately 3000 students follow a diminishing number of lectures. Many teachers or lecturers have left the institution. Official voices of the university try to give the impression that there is no involvement into political affairs. In fact, the university life is LTTE controlled. Open political discussions do not take place any more on the campus. The former work of the group 'University Teachers for Human Rights' seems to have been forgotten and is strongly denied.

The Tigers have introduced the 'Tamil Eelam Police' as a civil power. Volunteers get the same three months of training as future cadres and can be ordered to join cadres in course of a fight. Now they are busy in regulating the traffic of Jaffna town. According to their own statements LTTE is about to implement a courts structure which should be based on 'international standards of law'.

In many parts of Sri Lanka the rising confrontation between Muslims and Tamils has led to serious consequences. Also Jaffna has not been left unaffected by these problems. In February the last of more than sixty remaining Muslim families were chased out of their houses by LTTE cadres. Usually the houses are occupied by the Tigers immediately or given to the families of deserving cadres. None of the Muslims was allowed to take any personal belongings while leaving the houses. Lots of the former Muslim shops inside Jaffna have been looted and destroyed.

Supply of the civilians

A slight improvement in the supply situation has happened within the last twelve months: Instead of the one-third of the required food stuff that reached Jaffna during 1991, now about 50% of the amount is arriving in the North. Though artificial fertilizer is still one of the prohibited items harvest is not as bad as last year. People have learned to use the traditional methods of farming and there was much more rain during the last season.

There has been a considerable reduction in prices for different goods, but people in Jaffna still have to pay double the amount of money compared to Colombo. Without relatives in one of the Western countries who send money regularly, only few people will be able to survive for a longer time. The last year has seen several victims of starvation.

Petrol is still another prohibited item. Meanwhile, after most of the supply lines to India have been cut, the price for a 0.7 litre bottle of petrol has reached the incredible height of 3000 Rupees. In contrast kerosene is sold for less than 40 Rupees a litre (200 – 300 Rs. in 1991). Apart from the bus service between Jaffna town and Lagoon there is no public transport available in the North. Few minibuses offer transportation charging fares which people cannot afford to pay. Therefore even long distances are covered by bicycle. Motorcycles are driven with kerosene, cars cannot be seen on Jaffna roads.

During the last months a lot of persons and families have lost their livelihood. Many fishing families are affected because there is no chance to earn a living since the army has occupied the surrounding islands. Any attempt to cross the Lagoon by boat is answered by immediate shelling and grenade attacks from the islands. The withdrawal of support from India following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi has had a serious impact on the situation in Jaffna.

NGOs in the North

Today fourteen non-Government-Organisations (NGOs) are providing help and support for the civil population in Jaffna. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is playing an important role in the organisation of food supply. As Elephant Pass, as well as the Jetty between Pooneryn and Arukuveli are not available any more for transport, the whole amount of supply items is brought by ships from Colombo to the ports of Kankesanturai and Point Pedro. Only the area south of Elephant Pass (Vanni District) is still supplied by convoys of lorries.

ICRC takes also responsibility for the largest working hospital – the General Hospital of Jaffna. According to statements of the head of the Jaffna-delegation of ICRC, working conditions in the hospital are tolerable with respect to the prevailing situation. Drugs and other materials are sent from the capital every three months. But it is highly questionable how one large hospital is able to ensure medical services for a million people in the peninsula. Small hospitals are still existing but most of them cannot provide any stationary treatment for patients.

Since 1991, the Jaffna hospital is surrounded by a 'Safety Zone' which includes certain roads in close proximity to the buildings. An accord between ICRC, Sri Lankan army, and LTTE ensures that the hospital is not affected by the fighting. No uniforms or weapons are allowed inside the safety area. Nevertheless a bomb blast caused a lot of damage inside the hospital during the second week of February. Fortunately nobody was injured. The origin of the explosive

Continued on page 14

Continued from page 13

material was not clear but probably the bomb attack was planned to provoke unrest among the people.

It is quite surprising to see the work of the 'Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation' (TRO) among the NGOs which are active in Jaffna. Though TRO is a branch of the LTTE it is accepted ' / all other organisations. The main issue of TRO in Jaffna is to handle the refugee problem. Within Sri Lanka the number of refugees is still rising, unofficial sources recently gave an estimated number of 1.6 million refugees. After the army occupation of the islands more than 10,000 families have fled these places and come into the peninsula to seek shelter in refugee camps.

Batticaloa and the East

It is difficult to compare the situations in the North and the East of Sri Lanka. Both setups are totally different and nobody can say whether either the conditions for people in the East are more pleasant than in Jaffna or the Eastern area is the region most affected by the ethnic conflict. In contrast to the Jaffna situation there are three groups which are fighting each other for power: Sri Lankan army and security forces (supported by the 'Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation' (TELO), LTTE, and Muslim home guards. Cross-fires may happen at any time, mostly with a considerable number of civilian casualties. But the main problems are unexpected attacks by Muslim home guards upon Tamil civilians as well as LTTE attacks upon Muslim villages. Though the home guards are poorly trained they get army weapons – and also use them with high motivation. The continuous fighting and massacres have led to an extreme polarisation between the different ethnic groups.

Examples of such incidents during the first months of 1992 can be given easily: In January two cycle bombs exploded in the town of Kattankudi (close to Batticaloa, place of the LTTE massacres in 1990), four Tamil fishermen were hacked to death by unknown persons in Tannamunai (official newspapers mentioned the death of four Muslims killed by LTTE), another bomb blast caused damage inside a Muslim school at Pottuvil. . . . reasons and responsibilities often are not quite clear. In the case of the school bomb there were voices accusing LTTE as well as the Muslims trying to delay the repatriation of Tamils in Muslim villages.

Since 1991 a peaceful life between Tamils and Muslims is difficult to imagine. Nobody is prepared for talks to bring an end to this cruel conflict.

Power struggle

Who is ruling the East in the presence of the power struggle? Only a few weeks after LTTE had occupied Batticaloa the army was able to regain control of the town area again. Nowadays Batticaloa is presented in the media as a 'flourishing' place which has come back to normalcy and where people are living without fear. Actually Batticaloa looks like a fortress carefully shielded from the outside area by security forces. Neither persons nor vehicles are able to enter or leave the town area without registration and checking. Even in the town area it is hardly possible to walk more than 200 yards without passing a checkpoint. Armed soldiers and policemen can be found everywhere. If the life of the inhabitants is really without fear, it is only limited to the daylight hours. After 7pm nobody dares to leave the house.

The main road along the coastal strip is covered by countless army camps and checkpoints. Between Kalkudah and Kallar, army, police and TELO share their 'duty' of keeping control whereas the section Kallar – Arugam Bay (Panama) is supervised by the 'Special Task Force' (STF).

The sandwich structure of villages and towns in the East with alternating Muslim or Tamil majority has led to a total isolation (especially of the Muslim places) in the context of tension. Heavy road blocks separate these places from each other and it takes a lot of time to pass the checkpoints and enter a Muslim village. Places like Eravur, Pottuvil or Kattankudi which had a mixed population with a majority of Muslims have now changed to pure Muslim locations. Contrary to Jaffna here all the Tamil properties and shops are looted or reduced to rubble.

Three days of the week (Monday, Wednesday, Friday) have been declared to be 'Escort days' for Muslims to travel along the main road. During these special days armed personnel can be seen on the road every hundred yards and several abandoned buildings are used as hideouts and sentry points. Without exception all checkpoints are closed between 5 and 6pm.

Leaving the coast and visiting the jungle areas gives an entirely different picture. Armed with AK-47 rifles, LTTE boys are cycling around. Not even two miles away from the final army checkpoint one meets the rulers of the remote areas. Obviously the government control of the East is limited to the places along the main road. During the night LTTE cadres enter the small villages to demand money and food from the people.

The government has announced its intention to finish the ongoing struggle and regain power even in the remote areas within the next seven or eight months. But it is hard to believe how the security forces will be able to put an end to the guerrilla tactics applied by the LTTE. It is more likely that this war will go on and on.

Daily life in the East

Besides all the abnormalities that have been mentioned above, the supply situation in the East is normal. With few exceptions all required items reach the affected areas in sufficient amounts. One of the exceptions are batteries, but everybody knows shops where it is possible to buy them. Prices are slightly higher than in Colombo. Despite the intervention of organisations (like ICRC or the French doctors MSF), it is difficult to provide adequate medical help and support to the population. There is not only a lack of drugs but also a rather small number of doctors and nurses.

Unlike in the North travelling to and from the Sri Lankan capital is not restricted. Nevertheless even here the travelling persons have to undergo several hardships and humiliations. Trains from Colombo (now ending in Valaichchenai) are stopped at Galoya Junction for hours and accompanied by the army for the rest of the journey. Ruthless checking of the luggage is taking place several times. The passengers have to tolerate insults from soldiers who seem to be quite nervous about the situation. It might happen several times that all passengers have to leave the train for an intensive examination of the luggage on the platform. Sometimes passengers are checked twice or thrice within half an hour. Finally the numbers of persons from all ethnic groups are counted and registered in special forms.

Trains are running up to Batticaloa twice a week under army control. LTTE appears to be quite irritated and provoked by these activities of the security forces.

In front of the Valaichchenai railway station one can watch scenes of struggling for seats within the few minibuses or taxis heading for Batticaloa. It takes more than another two hours to cover the distance of 15 miles. While passing thirteen checkpoints all passengers have to leave the vehicles four times to undergo a checking of identity cards and bags. Thirty minutes of waiting time are not quite unusual at Kiran or Eravur.

Human Rights

Compared to Jaffna there seem to be far less atrocities and hardships to the civilian population. But many incidents are happening during darkness or otherwise hidden from the public eye. There are countless cases of 'disappearances'. More than 3800 persons have disappeared in Batticaloa and its vicinity since June 1990. In most of the cases the persons have been arrested by army or police before they disappeared. Even today roundups and search operations are part of the daily activities of the government forces.

The Batticaloa Peace Committee (a group that is trying to create public awareness of human rights violations in the East) has recorded cases of torture during arrest. They see only little chance for a change in the behaviour of the security personnel. Despite all the efforts of the peace group and other organisations these incidents continue to happen. Responsible army officers admit that there is a certain lack of discipline among the soldiers, but they seem to tolerate what is happening.

The ICRC is trying to provide adequate aid for prisoners within camps of the army. Hopefully this can reduce the number of human rights violations. ICRC also tries to deal with tracing the whereabouts of disappeared persons at the request of relatives, with little success. All activities of NGOs have to happen within a small gap that is left between all parties of the conflict.

Refugees

In the East the situation of refugees is much more dramatic than in many other parts of the country. Mainly Tamil persons are living in hundreds of camps along the eastern coast. There are several villages which have nearly doubled the number of inhabitants by the inflow of refugees.

While spending thousands of Rupees for 'dry rations' to supply the refugees, the Sri Lankan government is strongly interested to close camps and resettle people at their native places. Up to now only a few people are prepared to return to the places where they had fled from. Nobody is able to guarantee that there won't be renewed atrocities and confrontations. Many refugees are not at all interested to return because their personal properties have been destroyed – the tensions between Muslims and Tamils still are quite strong.

The South of Sri Lanka

The majority of incidents happening in the North and East are not registered or even noticed in the Sri Lankan capital out of ignorance or lack of information. Nevertheless the conflict shows its effects also in Colombo.

Still it is quite risky for Tamils from the North and East to stay in Colombo. They are in a permanent danger of being taken into custody. Proprietors of lodges and hotels as well as relatives have to give a report about the person to the local police station mentioning the reasons for and the duration of the stay. Search operations (sealing off complete blocks of houses) are quite popular in police circles in an endeavour to find unwelcome persons. These roundups are sought to be justified by accompanying newspaper reports on the presence of LTTE cadres in Colombo and their plans to attack governmental institutions and official persons. The police operations focus on Wellawatte and Kotahena where certain areas are searched twice a week. Countless arrests by the police or the 'Criminal Investigation Department' (CID) often lead to the disappearance of suspected persons. Sometimes relatives or friends are allowed to free a prisoner by paying a large sum of money – one of several ways for certain policemen to increase their income.

There is a lot of distrust among the people in Colombo. It is sufficient to achieve the detention of an undesired person by blaming him of being sympathetic to the LTTE. The 'Eelam Peoples Democratic Party' is playing an important role in seeking for hideouts of Tamil militants in Colombo. Cooperation with police and CID is taking place in many cases. While being in charge of several refugee camps in the town area, the EPDP regularly helps police in the arrest of suspected 'pro-LTTE Tamils'.

Activities of JVP

Throughout 1991 the situation in the South can be described as generally calm. After the terror of the JVP that was answered by counter-terror of the government an unusual atmosphere of peace and normalcy has returned to the area. But under the cover of peace, activities of the government against suspected JVP members are still going on. Again and again single persons or families are disappearing.

During the last few months there were certain indications of a new rise of the JVP. Assumed JVP leaders demanded an end of the persecution by the government and a readmission of JVP as a political party. The reasons for this latest development are easy to find: Many of the problems that have led to the growth of JVP in the South are still existing, some of them are even more serious than they have been five or ten years back.

Perspectives

Only little can be said about a possible development towards peace in Sri Lanka. From the political side no peace initiative can be expected at the moment. While bombs are dropped in the North and mass detention is taking place in the East, Sri Lankan politicians appear on television presiding over public functions or religious ceremonies accompanied by full pomp and pageantry. With a friendly smile on their face, they try to make the world believe that Sri Lanka has solved its problems. A few weeks ago a government spokesman commented: 'It is high time that Sri Lanka gets rid of all kind of intervention and influence from abroad and show that we are a shining example and a teacher for other countries'.

The problem of a lack of political initiatives is not just a problem of the ruling 'United National Party'. Even the opposition 'Sri Lanka Freedom Party' does not offer any concepts for a peaceful future. On March, 16th, they had started a 200 miles 'Pada Yatra' from Colombo to Kataragama. Participants of the protest rally were carrying banners asking for better living conditions or an end of the human rights violations. But out of the experiences from history it seems to be unlikely that, even if SLFP takes over power, changes will happen.

Is it imaginable to come to a peaceful solution in the presence of the current conflict? It is difficult to answer this question in the affirmative. Anyway it must be acknowledged that there are still attempts to start peace initiatives in the country. A few months ago Soma Perera, a former president of the Methodist Church in Sri Lanka, went to Jaffna. This journey was much highlighted in the papers because nobody would expect a Sinhalese person to travel to the North and contact the LTTE leaders. His approach was followed by a group of catholic priests and a delegation of the 'Quakers Peace Group'.

It is still quite unsatisfactory how western countries react to all the happenings in Sri Lanka. Most of them have lost even the last glimpse of interest in the civil war. Moreover they try to play down the problems because of too many political refugees in their own countries. The result of the conference of IMF and World Bank is another striking example. Much noise was made in many quarters that

Continued on page 30

EDITORIAL COMMENT – OCTOBER 1981

TAMIL TIMES

TAMIL TIMES makes its appearance at a time when events in Sri Lanka have hit the headlines in the international news media. These headlines did not bring credit to our country. But what they did achieve was to internationalise the single most important problem that has remained unresolved and plagued the country since independence – the national question of the Tamil speaking people.

The trials and tribulations of the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka for the last 33 years, the series of tragic and traumatic experiences they suffered as a consequence of frequent communal violence culminating in the reign of terror unleashed upon the Tamil people of Jaffna and the contribution of the state apparatus towards the destruction and devastation of the cultural institutions, the latest round of violence directed at the Tamils in the rest of the island rendering thousands destitute and homeless should have by now convinced those in authority and others that the Tamil national question would not simply disappear. Resolute positive and meaningful steps by way of appropriate and just political and constitutional arrangements are vital for the effective solution to this vexed problem.

Thousands of Sri Lankans live in various parts of the world. They left the shores of their motherland seeking advancement in all walks of life and now live scattered. But wherever they live their attachment to the motherland and the deeply felt concern for their fellow countrymen remain unabated. They crave for news and information about their country. A great deal of anxiety results when the information they seek is not readily available. In its competition for newsworthiness Sri Lankan events do not always win space in the news media. TAMIL TIMES is born with the ambitious intention of satisfying this craving for news and information about Sri Lanka and its people.

Although we appear under the title TAMIL TIMES, we are determined to ensure that news, views and information that we publish are of general interest to all Sri Lankans be they Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghers. While we will not hesitate to comment on political questions we are resolved to remain unaffiliated to any political party.

While we would endeavour to give as wide a coverage as possible to news and information, we are determined to make the TAMIL TIMES the standard bearer for the defence of democracy and human rights and a forum for serious discussion of political, social, economic and cultural matters concerning our mother country and host countries.

We are dedicated to the much cherished maxim : 'Facts are sacred, comment is free'.

LTTE's Defiant Response to Ban

The LTTE have responded to the ban imposed on them by India with a defiant call to the people of Tamil Nadu that it was their duty to break out of shackles that have been imposed by India upon Tamil national consciousness in the form of a ban on the Tamil Tigers.

Their Statement, issued in Tamil, says:

We are surprised at this action by India which has been taken in pursuance of short-term narrow national interests and quick political gains. We regard this action as a continuation of the treachery the Indian government has been committing against the genuine struggle of the Tamil people. It is regrettable that India has, by this act, alienated the Tamil nation which has so far remained a friendly force in the South Asian region.

Lacking in foresight, diplomacy and tact, this precipitate action may adversely affect India's global interests in the future.

India has falsely accused us of giving military training in Jaffna to some youth from Tamil Nadu and inciting secessionism in Tamil Nadu. There is absolutely no truth in these allegations. It was the Indian government which provided military training to hundreds of Tamil youth, supplied them with weapons and incited violence against the Sri Lankan state, and used the Tamil youth as pawns in an effort to serve its global interests. Then, India did not regard these activities as illegal.

The Indian government intervened in the Tamil national question, that is in the affairs of a foreign country. It sent an occupying force into the Tamil homeland under the guise of a peace keeping force. It is the Indian government which attempted to destroy the Tamil Tigers and the Tamil national freedom struggle. In this war of aggression, it killed tens of thousands of Tamils. Therefore, it was the Indian government, and the leadership of the Indira Congress in particular, that intervened in the internal affairs of our country which had serious consequences.

Thus, having committed historic errors against the Tamil people, the Indian government is now accusing the Tigers of intervening in Indian affairs. It states that the LTTE is a threat to the national security of India. There is absolutely no truth in this accusation. The LTTE has acted neither as a hostile force to India, nor did it have any intention to destroy the national integrity and unity of India.

India is not frightened of the Tigers, but is frightened of the resurgence of Tamil nationalism and consciousness. The Indian government views the Tigers and their leader Prabhakaran as revolutionary symbols of the Tamil patriotic struggle. It is because of this that India has sought to ban the LTTE and impugn Prabhakaran.

The ruling class in India thinks that it can block the rising tide of Tamil national consciousness in Tamil Nadu by banning the Tamil nationalist movement of Liberation Tigers functioning in a neighbouring country. Therefore, the ban on the Tigers should be regarded as a straightjacket imposed upon Tamil nationalism and Tamil national consciousness of the people of Tamil Nadu.

(A translation from Tamil)

Jayalalitha hails decision

The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Ms. Jayalalitha, has expressed her gratitude to the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, and the Union Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, for banning the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The decision, she said, would be in the best interest of preserving the country's unity.

Mr. K. Ramamurthi, MP and TNCC(I) President, conveyed his gratitude to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister for having taken a right step to protect the sovereignty and unity of the country. In a statement, he appealed to the Prime Minister to ban also movements and political parties extending direct or indirect support to the LTTE.

TEN YEARS OF 'TAMIL TIMES'

Towards a Consensus With Courage and Conviction

'. . .we are determined to ensure that news, views and information that we publish are of general interest to all Sri Lankans be they Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghers. While we will not hesitate to comment on political questions we are resolved to remain unaffiliated to any political party'. (Tamil Times, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1991).

A Review by
Dr. Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu,
University of Southampton,
United Kingdom.

The task the *Tamil Times* set for itself at the outset was and indeed continues to be, a challenging one. Reporting, primarily, about the struggle for self-determination in northeast Sri Lanka to a predominantly Tamil readership, invariably pits crusading zeal and nationalist fervour against aspirations of impartiality and objectivity. To be a part of and yet apart from in as equal measure, so that passion and reason are both employed as legitimate instruments and influences, is the enduring dilemma. Success, I submit, is not therefore to be measured by the self-righteous proclamation of the monopoly of the truth or populist polemics disguised as such, but by the honest acknowledgement that the truth in this business is rarely simple, seldom pure and though often elusive, a compelling and compulsive quest. As such, there are signposts in the storm and the editors choice of the Manchester Guardian's C.P. Scott's 'facts are sacred : comment is free' from the first issue, to Voltaire's famous motto espoused by all liberals in subsequent ones since October 1990, is indicative of the contours of self-definition and likewise, the criteria for a critique.

Continuity of Purpose

Past editorials reveal that the journal's profile is defined by its broad perspective and general commitment to liberal principles on the key issues in contention – the process and objective of the Tamil liberation struggle in Sri Lanka. This means/end distinction is an important one in so far as it illustrates the dilemmas encountered by all the actors in the liberation struggle. How it is to be done is as important as what is to be done, as the former invariably affects the latter beyond the realization of the political goal. Consequently, editorial comment on real or alleged political violence by militant groups is especially illustrative of the recognition accorded to this crucial tension and indicative of continuity of purpose and more importantly, courage of conviction.

In the March 1983 issue of its second volume, the *Tamil Times* responded to the assassination of Kopay TULF MP Alalasunderam with an editorial on political violence. Whilst recognising the legitimacy of armed resistance, the editorial seriously questioned the political efficacy of assassinations and implicity, the morality of such actions. It doubted the 'political sanity' of the assassins and clearly stated that 'when, how, against whom and for what purpose political violence is used would have crucial consequences in a liberation struggle'. The September 1985 editorial went further. It castigated such assassinations as 'nothing short of naked terrorism' and two months later, reiterated this position against 'the despicable conduct of a minority of unruly and criminal elements masquerading under the cloak of liberation. . .' In an expansion of this line in the May 1986 issue, the LTTE-TELO battle was fiercely condemned as 'fratricide in pursuit of personal or faction power' and in conclusion, quite simply as 'MURDER' (sic).

Advocating Pluralism

Editorials have persistently criticised internecine warfare and upheld the 'democratic rights of all groups, whether militant or non-militant. . .' (November 1988). Exemplifying the journalistic tradition that advocates pluralism as both politically and morally advantageous, they have consistently argued that between groups, 'civilised democratic discussion' had to replace 'gun culture' in order to achieve Tamil unity.

Perhaps the clearest statement of the general belief in unity through diversity and democracy, is the concluding paragraph of the January 1989 editorial on the impending February 1989 general election, titled 'Let the People Decide'. It is worth quoting in full as representative of the intellectual antecedents and political convictions that distinguish the journal as a forum for debate:

> ***No individual, party or group has the right to arrogate to itself the right to be the sole spokesman or representative of the people. All the groups and parties purport to speak and fight for and on behalf of the people. They also assume that they know what the interests of the people are. If that were true, and if they are confident of the correctness of their respective positions, they should have the courage to trust the people to take the right decision according to their own perceptions and understanding. Those who claim to have the support of the people must not display, use or threaten to use weapons of human destruction.***

Accordingly, the Amirthalingam murder in July 1989 provoked moral outrage and despair – 'Are the Tamil people, individually and collectively, going to permit the developing culture of intolerance and violence to undermine the moral basis of the Tamil cause beyond possibility of retrieval?'

Events ensured that the question and editorial line persisted. The LTTE-EPRLF armed contest at the end of 1989 was found wanting in terms of the standard of unity through diversity and morality, as were actions by militants against the Muslim minority a year later. The TNA recruitment was branded as 'reprehensible' and the LTTE upbraided for intolerance; action against the Muslims was a 'cowardly and shameless exercise of brute force' which also deserved the 'severest condemnation and unequivocal repudiation by all members of the Tamil community in whose name it was purportedly done'.

Commendable Courage

Equally uncompromising was the condemnation of Rajiv Gandhi's murder. It was 'unvarnished terrorism' and if 'non-Indian elements' were involved, they should be dealt with as 'international terrorists'. The full force of the editorial's fury was reserved for the assassins:

> ***. . . when they goaded the woman bomber to wear the belt packed with lethal explosives around her waist, they knew that she would also explode into bits. Having thus helped to kill one of their own in an act of odious savagery, the***

Continued on page 18

Continued from page 17

perpetrators have disowned her in a display of characteristic disloyalty and ingratitude – loyalty and gratitude are human values which such evil minds do not know or understand. . . .(15 June 1991).

In consistently speaking out against internecine warfare and terrorism, the *Tamil Times* has displayed commendable courage and foresight in its contribution to the process of liberation. It has not abandoned its declared aim to express ***'equal concern for internal democracy, political pluralism and observance of human rights within the Tamil community itself'*** (Editorial, 15 December 1990). My one criticism of the journal's attitude towards politically damaging and morally questionable violence is its relative failure to denounce such action when the victims have been Sinhalese civilians and the perpetrators, the militant groups. Explicit criticism of indiscriminate violence could effectively counter the chauvinistic charge and enhance its appeal to readership from all communities.

Regarding the ultimate objective of struggle, the *Tamil Times* has reiterated its belief that Tamils constitute a nation, staunchly supported self-determination and until recently (15 May 1991), avoided advocacy of a precise political or constitutional formulation. However, in the emphasis on a political solution to redefine the relationship between the Tamil community and the Sri Lankan state and keen attention to political and constitutional developments in the south, a disposition towards federalism – declared in the May 1991 issue – could be discerned. For instance, secession has been treated very much as a deterrent and last resort rather than a foreordained or immutable goal: the erosion of democracy and political upheaval in the south has never been scrutinised merely as news from another country. The constant theme has been an end to civilian suffering within a framework incorporating the four principles enunciated at Thimpu (July and August 1985). Just before the Accord, these sentiments were expressed in the July 1987 editorial:

Many Sinhalese mistake the idea of self-determination to mean secession. This need necessarily not be so. Once the Sinhalese accept that there are two nations. . . ., then meaningful safeguards can be devised not merely to protect the Tamil nation but also its Sinhala counterpart. We must underline. . . .that the two nations are parleying on equal terms.

Journal's Strength

In the support for federalism and the time at which it was made public, a sensitivity to the configuration of political forces within Sri Lanka and India can also be detected. This attests to a shrewd and necessary appreciation of both the context and mechanics of political struggle. Indeed, recognition from the standpoint of justice and peace, of the centre ground and democratic space between the attainable and the desirable, the pragmatic and absolutist, is one of the journal's strengths. The 15 May editorial argued:

LTTE spokesmen have also called for negotiations and some of them have declared that they are prepared to settle the conflict on the basis of self-determination of the Tamil people, but it need not be a total separate state. The President has also given expression to the view that except for Eelam, everything else is negotiable. . . .

and

The indications are that neither party is going to trounce the other and sooner or later they will begin negotiations with or without outside assistance. It must surely be sensible to commence talking sooner and not later which will inevitably mean more death and destruction.

What transpired since then is common knowledge. Any endorsement of federalism, receptivity to the Parliamentary Select Committee and the Thondaman proposals, has to contend with the repercussions of the Gandhi assassination in particular, and political developments in the south of Sri Lanka. A political solution requires a mutually acceptable and sustainable partnership for success. In cognizance of this, the 15 March 1992 editorial dared to address the question of 'A Crisis of Leadership' on the Tamil side. Alleged Tiger responsibility for the assassination and the Indian warrant for Prabhakaran's arrest in this connection, had 'raised a question mark concerning the acceptability of the Tigers to represent the Tamil people in any negotiations'. Ever appreciative of political constraints and imperatives, the editorial contended:

Even if Colombo wants to, Colombo may consider it politically imprudent and inexpedient to enter into negotiations with the LTTE for such a course may cause friction and antagonism between New Delhi and Colombo.

The next paragraph summarized the immediate and complex problem,

It would thus seem that, by acts of commission and omission of those who purported to represent the interests of the Tamil people in the recent past, the community finds itself without an acceptable and effective political leadership to represent it and speak on its behalf.

All efforts, it concluded, must be directed to rectify this.

Different Stable

Cynics may argue that after 10 years of publication and devotion to exalted notions of human rights and liberation, the above paragraph confirms the journal's failure to make a decisive contribution in moulding or even reflecting wider opinion, and, that it is not a serious statement of legitimate views designed to facilitate it. In this vein, they may also be joined by critics to make the point that the paragraph is symbolic of the unrepresentativeness of radical bourgeois opinion epitomized by the *Tamil Times*, when contrasted with 'the situation on the ground' – that ubiquitous phrase supposed to be conclusive because it denotes self-evident fact. The *Tamil Times* comes from a different stable and is devoid of both the willingness and ability to fathom the temper of the times – the horse of Tamil politics has bolted away from radical paternalism in an unrelenting gallop of militant zeal and will never return to liberal values. The desperate yearning is for answers: questions only muddy the waters. There is a time and place for thought and for action and the time is now for action. Moreover, the past had a different pattern and the past is not to be repeated. . . .

Perhaps I exaggerate and deliberately caricature, in order to commend the raising of uncomfortable questions and the defence of democracy and human rights as eternal duties which, whatever the force of circumstance, are eternally valid. Is it not imperative that the language of tactics and strategy is vested with the grammar of rights and duties and that the threshhold of civilian pain is not measured by the thirst for political power? I hope the *Tamil Times* continues into many more decades of publication, increases its circulation and contributors from all communities and shades of opinion. I wish it every success in this ***necessary*** endeavour.

A good read – yes, most importantly though, a thought provoking one!

TEN YEARS OF 'TAMIL TIMES'

'Maintaining the Best Traditions of Press Freedom'

I am sure the Sri Lankan Tamils all over the world would join me in felicitating the *Tamil Times* on its completing ten years of uninterrupted publication and wishing it many more years of service as an unfailing beacon to guide us out of the misery into which we have fallen. In this time of happiness we remember with grateful hearts those who pioneered the publication, messrs C.J.T. Thamotheram, N.S. Kandiah, P. Rajanayagam, those visionaries who dreamt the noble dream of a periodical to fight for our rights and nursed the fledgling with tireless zeal through the pangs of its birth.

These ten years have been a winter of despair for our people. A reign of terror and of unspeakable atrocities has swept over our dear land. The *Tamil Times*, true to its avowed objectives has critically analysed our problems and condemned all violations of human rights. To present facts truly in an unbiased way and reflect in its content a diversity of views, is an unenviable task. There are those who are filled with the euphoria produced by the bold stand put up by the militants all these years and their glorious victories. They have extolled their relentless pursuit of their goal of Eelam. They have seen glimpses of the promised land and would brook no word of reproach against them. They would justify their excesses on the ground they have to secure the solidarity of their ranks and find the wherewithal for the military hardware they need. They firmly believe that, but for the Tigers, the fate of our people living outside the North and East would now be worse than what befell them in 1958 and in the years thereafter. Voltaire's noble maxim on the freedom of dissent, and facts being sacred and comment free, are mere cliches to them, effete rectitudes. What the Jehad is to the Muslims, is the present fight to the Tamils, a holy war, a crusade, in which all Tamils should join. So, when you denounce the militants' excesses and publish articles like *'War Against Historical Memory'* (Dec. 1991), or the *'Letter From Jaffna'* (November 1991), which damage the image of the Tigers, they call the *Tamil Times* anti-Tamil.

I have read your editorials carefully. You have condemned injustice and atrocities, regardless of who perpetrated them. You have written about the enforced exodus of the Muslims, and the gratuitous intervention of the Buddhist clergy and pleaded for a speedy negotiated settlement with equal force. Your columns have been open to a diversity of views like those of Sachi Sri Kantha and K. Thambiah, Sivaraman and Sivasegaram. You have maintained the best traditions of Press Freedom, and shown that healthy debate is the cornerstone of democracy. You have given prominence to all violations of Human Rights. Erudite writers have contributed valuable articles on our problems. The *Tamil Times* has therefore been not only a recorder of events but also proved a catalyst for the vindication of our rights.

It looks as if this war of attrition will go on for a long time. The *Tamil Times* has a valuable contribution to make in these critical times. Our dear motherland will one day rise mighty and resplendant like the phoenix from its ashes.

It is estimated that nearly three lakhs of our people are living in foreign lands. The *Tamil Times* has established a linkage with them and instilled in them a sense that we are one people, wherever in the planet we may be. Their serial events, their noteworthy achievements, and obituaries are reported and we are able to know what is happening to our friends and relatives from whom we have been separated for so long. The photos and appreciations of our departed friends kindle memories of happy days gone by. Good coverage is given to the fine arts and we have the chance of knowing the accomplishments of our young artistes.

Tamil Times has a solid record of achievement. Mr. Rajanayagam has matured into an editor of outstanding ability, whose balance and sobriety give force to what he writes. He faces realities courageously, is virile, robust, well-informed and telling in his criticisms. In Mr. N.S. Kandiah we have a sound business manager who has steered the journal through all financial difficulties and put it on a firm basis. They have laboured without any remuneration and with dedication and total commitment. With them at the helm and with the support of subscribers, even of those holding contrary views, the *Tamil Times* is assured of a brilliant period of service.

May God bless them and the *Tamil Times*.

C. Subramaniam

Emeritus Principal,
Skantha Varothaya College,
Chumakam, Sri Lanka.

'A Forum for Free Debate'

The *Tamil Times* has, more than any other periodical published by Tamils outside their homelands, served as a forum for free debate of the politics of Tamil liberation. While I have strongly differed with views expressed, both editorially and otherwise, on important issues, I admire the ability of the magazine to accommodate a wide range of opinions including some harshly critical of the magazine. I hope that the forces of Tamil liberation will learn from the *Tamil Times* that accommodation of different points of view does not necessarily constitute compromising on principles.

I also wish to use the occasion of ten successful years of the *Tamil Times* to appeal to the publishers to enlarge the scope of the magazine to deal with the more serious aspects of socio-cultural life of the new generation of overseas Tamils and of their identity in an alien environment, including the questions of racial integration and cultural assimilation.

I am confident that *Tamil Times* will continue to serve the international Tamil community for many more years to come in the same spirit that it has in the past and wish it well in its endeavour.

Dr. S. Sivasegaram

London.

'Requires Great Courage'

We send you our congratulations on the completion of ten years of publication and best wishes for the future of the *Tamil Times* on the occasion of its tenth anniversary.

I believe in reading all shades of opinion expressed in various magazines, and I have read with interest and concern the Sri Lanka news in the *Tamil Times*. We believe that well-informed journalists should try to contribute to peace through ensuring that their writings are as balanced as possible. This requires great courage.

Wishing you all the best now and in the future.

Yours sincerely,

N. Ramamurthy

Asia Secretary,
Quaker Peace & Service.

TEN YEARS OF 'TAMIL TIMES'

'Committed to Values, Permanent and Eternal'

Greetings and best wishes. You have held your ground through ten turbulent years in the history of Lanka, and that of the Tamils in particular, and have come out of it with honour. Your total and unflagging commitment in defence of the democratic and human rights of Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese alike, in the context of a brutal and now senseless and self-defeating conflict is an achievement in which you can take legitimate pride. The *Tamil Times* represents Tamil culture at its best, all that is good, true and noble in our common humanity. Moderate in tone yet frank in condemning injustice, you have placed on record for future generations, what has been the saddest, most violent and merciless decade in the two thousand and five hundred years history of both the Sinhalese and the Tamils in our beloved motherland, call it by whatever name, be it Sri Lanka, Ceylon, Ilankai or Eelam. You have given us a publication which one can hand out with self-respect and a clear conscience to concerned scholars, students, human rights activists and Third World Solidarity groups here in Japan or anywhere in the world.

In the late 70s and early 80s when violations of the human rights of the Tamil people was on the increase, we enjoyed a great deal of international sympathy, goodwill and support. The *Tamil Times* made its appearance in that critical period and made a major contribution towards internationalising the issue. For those of us who were in Jaffna at that time it was a time of intense tension and total loss of confidence in the Lankan state and its security forces, but it was also a time of hope and courage. We were united as a people. Tamil did not fear Tamil. It was a time when peoples' movements, human rights groups (MIRJE), and citizens' committees spontaneously came into existence in the north and east, independent of the militant movements but broadly in sympathy with their then stated aims and objectives. These co-existed with mutual respect for each other. It was a time when the struggle for self-determination merged with the struggle for democratic and human rights. Both are indivisible and drew mass support. Today the Tamils are a deeply divided people. Unity cannot be imposed from the top at the point of the gun. Nor can liberation be achieved by brother killing brother.

As early as September 1985 you unreservedly condemned the killing of two former members of parliament V. Dharmalingam and M. Alalasundaram and said: ***'We make bold to publicly say that such killings have nothing to do with Tamil liberation or freedom. On the contrary, they are nothing short of naked terrorism.'*** In the same issue Dr. David Selbourne, who did so much to publicise the sufferings of the Tamils in the world's leading newspapers and journals, commented: ***'To add fratricide (as in the killing of TULF politicians) to genocide is, for the Tamils merely to deepen every agony they suffer... when Cain kills Abel, or Isaac slays Jacob; a 'victory' thus gained (is) no more than pyrrhic ... The blood of enough innocents – yes, Sinhalese included – has been shed already. To have added TULF representatives to the thousands of Tamil martyrs this civil war has already created, is a crime; a crime against the Tamil people.'*** Since then we have witnessed the tragic killings of many more, some of them dedicated men and women of courage who gave their lives so freely for the Tamil cause. These you have dutifully recorded and rightly condemned.

At this juncture one also recalls the crude efforts made by the Lankan state to confuse international opinion when it issued fake copies of the *Tamil Times* through its missions abroad. Today your commitment to give the news without fear or favour has incurred the wrath of some Tamil professionals and expatriates. To those who would wilfully vilify and defame you we say let history judge. ***You stand on firm ground, committed to values that are permanent and eternal. Ultimately a lasting peace with justice to all communities can only be built on such values.***

May *Tamil Times*' second decade bring peace, justice and a better life to the people of all the communities in our troubled land, especially to the poor, the displaced and the refugees.

Santasilan Kadirgamar
Meiji Gakuin University,
Tokyo.

'Served a Worthy Cause'

I believe that I am one of the *Tamil Times* subscribers, who have saved all the issues from volume 1, number 1. This I did, because it made its appearance, a few months after I left Sri Lanka. Though I have not agreed with all the views it has published in its pages during the past ten years, I have made it an essential reading to keep track of the events happening in the Eelam scene.

One way of looking back at how much has happened since it made its entry into the journalistic world, is to review the front pages of the number 1 issue of every new volume of the *Tamil Times* since 1981.

I provide a summary of my review below.

Volume 1, no.1 appeared in October 1981, although the date of the issue was missing in the front page. The cover price was 25 pence. There were two headline features. (1) *UNP-TULF Agreement; A Breakthrough or Tactical Move by Government.* (2) *Powerful Persons Behind Recent Violence.*

Volume 2, no.1 was dated November 1982. The cover price was 40 pence. There were two cover stories. (1) *Parliament Life Extended Until '89; Opposition Press Sealed.* (2) *3 Policemen Killed; 33 Guns Stolen.* (About the confrontation at the Chavakachcheri police station).

Volume 3, no.1 appeared in November 1983. The cover price was 50 pence. Under the headline: *The Naked Truth and the Myth*, a horrifying photograph of 'a Tamil youth being stripped naked before being burnt alive, while the killers were dancing' appeared. This incident had taken place at the main bus stand in Borella, Colombo 8, at 1.30am on July 24, 1983.

Volume 4, no.1 appeared in November 1984. The cover price was 65 pence. The front cover featured Indira Gandhi's photograph, with her last words delivered on October 30, 1984.

Volume 5, no.1 came in November 1985. The cover price was 75 pence. The cover story had a headline: *South African Type Sri Lankan 'Pass Laws'.* The photo featured Harry Greenaway, Conservative MP, Holding a genuine *Tamil Times* issue and a fake copy then produced by the Sri Lankan government authorities.

Volume 6, no.1 was published in December 1987. The cover price was 85 pence. It featured the photographs of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, LTTE leader V. Prabakaran and President

Jayewardene, with the caption, 'The Main Actors'.

Volume 8, no.1 came in December 1988. The cover price was 75 pence. The front page showed two photographs, with the caption, 'The Ghostly Resorts of Paradise'. One photograph, showed voters queuing up to vote during Sri Lanka's North-East Provincial Council Election.

Volume 9, no.1 was released in December 1989. The cover price was 75 pence. For the first time, the cover appeared in colour. It featured a photograph of the new Indian Prime Minister, Vishvanath Pratap Singh. Brief captions appeared as pointers: 'The Indian post-election Scene', 'V.P. Singh outlines his Agenda', 'Debacle of the DMK', 'Sri Lanka – The Eastern Powder Keg', 'Violence Spreads in Tamil Areas', 'For a Ceasefire Among Tamil Groups'.

Volume 10, no.1 came out in December 1990. The cover price was 75 pence. The front page had a photo of an axe-wielding Hindu holy warrior, in the Ayodhya conflict in India. Brief captions noted: 'Mankulam Military Debacle', 'LTTE – Now a Conventional Army', 'Red Cross Protests at Bombing of Jaffna Hospital', 'Rival Tamil Groups Join anti-LTTE War', 'Tamil-Muslim Parties Reach Accord', 'DMK Sun Passes Through a Cloud'.

Considering the meagre resources *Tamil Times* has had since its inception, one should admit that it has served a worthy cause. I will be happy, if one of its well-wishers can compile a comprehensive index covering the items which have appeared in the *Tamil Times* for the past ten years. It will be of much use for future historians and students of Tamil affairs.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Sachi Sri Kantha

Osaka, Japan.

TEN YEARS OF 'TAMIL TIMES'

'Uncompromising in Presenting Truth'

Tamil Times deserves high commendation on the completion of ten years of uninterrupted publication.

It has been my privilege to seek recourse to its pages to round off information about the Tamil struggle gathered from locally available sources right through this past period, and I have found the effort well worthwhile.

Unlike some other journals, *Tamil Times* has not fallen into the trap of chauvinism in the course of exposing the turgid racialism of Sinhalese politicians and their state. The paper has always been mature enough to remember that the problem of Tamil rights is a specific manifestation of the larger problem of the wellbeing of the entire Sri Lankan community. Uncompromising in its presentation of the true picture of discrimination, oppression and violent harassment of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka, *Tamil Times* has also been ever concerned to point to the increasingly fascist visage of the LTTE and its apparatus of terror and crime.

I would like to go further and state that *Tamil Times* has never championed the false consciousness of Pan-Tamilism, the final fall-back of all despairing 'Dravidian' demagogues. Tamil Dravidianism is a closed chapter of the social struggle in Tamil Nad and is most unlikely to find new life among the embers of an ideologically bankrupt 'Tiger' armed movement for the spread of terror among the Tamil people themselves.

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the woes of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka are now nearing their end. There is no indication that Sinhala chauvinism has been displaced by modernistic secular forces and trends. Much to the contrary, religio-racial politics has strengthened its hold on society and, in particular, on what constitutes the state. The absence of a modern social class capable of identifying itself and its interests with those of the country as a whole is a severe impediment to the working out of any programme of unifying Sri Lankan society and pacifying its antagonistic internal forces. The Indo-Lanka Agreement of July 1987 was occasioned by the existence of this vacuum in our country's domestic social environment. There is no indication that anything has occurred to nullify the 1987 importance of continental mediation.

Tamil Times will find itself compelled to confront this new phase of our ethnic problem. It will no longer be confined to a basic domestic question with projections into Tamil Nad politics. The central question will be the weakness of the national state and its inability to consolidate the nation on the basis of traditional concepts of sovereignty. Nor is this condition peculiar to Sri Lanka alone. All countries of South Asia (and elsewhere too) are beset by the same problems and the countries themselves are becoming ungovernable because of them. Even the problems of economy are interlaced with them. Without a continental or sub-continental approach to them, it will be difficult to get anywhere. The task of bringing this dimension of consciousness to Tamil people settled over wide areas of the globe belongs to *Tamil Times*.

Hector Abhayavardhana

Colombo, Sri Lanka.

'Not Swayed by Tamil Chauvinism – A Valiant Effort'

It is indeed heartening to note that *Tamil Times* has completed ten years of uninterrupted publication. I congratulate the editor and staff of this vigorously independent magazine which has gained a readership that extends beyond the Lankan Tamil community. I have always admired the editor's intrepidity in consistently defending the justness of the Tamil peoples' cause without being swayed by Tamil chauvinism.

The past decade has been a period of trials for the Tamil society. The burning of Jaffna Library in 1981 and the seven days of anti-Tamil terror in July 1983 were moments of extreme violence that signalled the coming of the civil war to the Tamil homelands. But we have witnessed much more since July 1983. There was a hope, a moment of hope, among the distressed and humiliated Lankan Tamils when militant movements announced their manifestos. But that hope diminished as the armed struggle developed in a direction that deviated from the appointed course of liberation. In practice, the movements put AK 47 in command of politics. We have witnessed the escalation of bloody internecine conflicts between different militant groups and the rise of military authoritarianism in the Tamil speaking areas. If the 1970s signified the budding of a new radicalism and a search for liberating ideologies among our youth, the 1980s turned out to be a decade when the stage was set for the

Continued on page 23

ALL TYPES OF INSURANCE ARRANGED

- ★ Motor
- ★ Commercial
- ★ Shops
- ★ Home contents
- ★ General

Commercial & residential property
Mortgages arranged
First time buyers welcome

We pride ourselves on personal service

Contact

J. KULENDRAN
Beddington Insurance Services (Wimbledon) Ltd.

157A Hartfield Road, Wimbledon,
LONDON SW19 3TJ
Telephone 081-543 5181
Fax: 081-545 0728

FOR CHEAP AIR FARES TO TOKYO, HONGKONG BANGKOK, SINGAPORE, SRI LANKA, PAKISTAN, INDIA MAURITIUS AND AUSTRALIA

Irwin Travel & Tours Ltd.

COMPETITIVE RATES FOR MANY DESTINATIONS, FOR RESERVATIONS AND INFORMATION

Telephone:
081-684 1370 081-689 7422
081-683 1845

2, Wentworth Road, West Croydon, Surrey CR0 3HT

ARM ASSOCIATES

★ MOTOR ★ HOME ★ SHOP
★ TRAVEL INSURANCE

HAPPY MARRIAGE BUREAU

SINCERE HELP AND GUIDANCE SPECIALISING IN MARRIAGE MATCHING ACCORDING TO TRADITIONAL HOROSCOPES MATCHING FROM ALMANAC, PALMISTRY AND NUMEROLOGY

ARM

1524, LONDON ROAD
LONDON SW16 4EU
TEL: 081-679 1952/3
FAX: 081-679 4960

ARM TRAVEL

BEST FARES TO ALL DESTINATIONS

P. SRINIVASAN

PENSION - MORTGAGE SPECIALISTS

FIMBRA

YOGA & CO

For all your legal work and conveyancing

Solicitors & Administrators of Oaths

47 Booth Road, Colindale, London NW9 5JS

Telephone: 081-205 0899

Authentic Sri Lankan and South Indian Cuisine

All Varieties of Hoppers, Pittu, Koththu Roti, Idly, Dosai, Vadai, Rolls, Biriyani, Squid, Curry, and Many More Dishes

Business Lunch served between 12 noon to 3.00pm

CHITHAARA RESTAURANT
FULLY LICENSED

TAKE AWAY SERVICE AVAILABLE

All Credit Cards accepted subject to condition

OPENING HOURS
Mon-Sat: 12noon – 3pm
6pm – 11.30pm
Sunday: 12noon – 3pm
6pm – 10.30pm
CAR PARK AT REAR

All occasions including Weddings, Birthdays & Dances etc. catered for

211 THE BROADWAY, WEST HENDON, LONDON NW9
TEL: 081-202 3486/7

T.S.T. SKY TRAVEL

- * **We offer you flights on scheduled airlines at a fair price**
- * **We specialise in flights to Sri Lanka, India, Malaysia, Singapore, USA, Canada & Australia**
- * *We will gladly refund the price difference if you can convince us that you could have got the same ticket cheaper elsewhere on the same date of purchase.*

Please contact Mr. S. Thiruchelvam

Office
255 Haydons Road,
Wimbledon
London SW19 8TY
Tel: 081-543 3318

Residence
69 Toynbee Road
Wimbledon
London SW20 8SH
Tel: 081-542 5140

Continued from page 21

protracted growth of a militarism that undermined the very purpose of the liberation struggle. If the Tamil militancy and heroism of the early eighties made the Tamil people feel proud, the actions of Tamil militants in the late eighties made them feel a new form of oppression and ashamed. The dominant form of Tamil nationalism today is chauvinistic and, therefore, reactionary. I may repeat what I have said before: Tamil nationalism has degenerated into a mirror image of its enemy – Sinhala nationalism. Its militant form represented by the LTTE and other armed movements has estranged the Tamil society from the Muslim people in the North and East. By imitating its enemy, Tamil nationalism has served to undermine the fraternal links between Sinhala and Tamil communities in the country. The hegemony of militarism and chauvinism in the Tamil homeland and the excessive violations of human rights by Tamil militants have obscured and damaged the basic justness of the Tamil cause and lent credence to the propaganda of the Sri Lankan state and other sources hostile to the Tamil peoples' demand for self-determination. A very sad consequence of this is the severe erosion of the international sympathy enjoyed by the Tamil cause.

In such a situation, there is a great need to uphold the justness of the Tamil cause before the international community while criticising and opposing the chauvinism of the dominant Tamil movements. The world has to be constantly reminded that the Tamil people in Lanka are still not free from the national oppression that led to the rise of armed resistance. The campaign for a lasting political solution to the national question has to be kept alive. Concerned expatriate Tamils, Sinhalese and others need to know what is going on in the country. They need to exchange views. *Tamil Times* is making a valiant effort toward meeting these needs. It deserves our active support. Perhaps, as its readers many of us could do more than what we are doing now to help sustain *Tamil Times* through the next decade.

Dr. N. Shanmugaratnam
Agricultural University of Norway

TEN YEARS OF 'TAMIL TIMES'

'A Yeoman Service'

The ProTEG extends its best wishes and felicitations to the *Tamil Times* on its completion of ten years of publication with the November issue. The *Tamil Times* has been playing a vital role in the media scenario covering these ten years which has seen momentous events take place unparalleled in the history of the Tamils of Eelam and the Sri Lankan imbroglio.

One can never underestimate the role of the press and media in the democratic milieu of modern society, particularly in the European context and the west in general. The Ceylon Tamil issue however petty it may have looked in the eyes of the world compared to the other burning controversies and strifes in the Global context, indeed was and is a matter of life and death to the Tamils of Eelam and your publication did a yeoman service in highlighting the human rights violations which did go a long way in activating the expatriate Tamils to voice and express their dismay and sorrow at the sufferings that their fellow beings were being subjected to in Eelam.

We in the ProTEG have been the watch dog of the tens of thousands of refugees who have continued to seek the refuge of India in Tamil Nadu since the holocaust of July 1983. These refugees have all fled the violence in our homeland of Eelam. Therefore we are particularly happy to note that you have always advocated a negotiated solution on the internationally accepted norms of settlement of disputes. Violence begets violence 'Those who live by the sword die by the sword'. Some elements in the Tamil Community have taken the violent path with disastrous consequences to the entire community. The *Tamil Times* has been a beacon light to the Eelam Tamils who are yet to see the light at the end of the tunnel.

We conclude our message by wishing the *Tamil Times* continued success and more strength to your pen.

Yours faithfully,

S.C. Chandrahasan
ProTEG

'Refusal to be Intimidated'

You have been called the 'anti-*Tamil Times*'. Friends of mine (Tamils) have asked me why I continued to contribute to 'a reactionary paper read only by aging expatriate Tamils out of touch with reality'. My response is that, if to say what has to be said is 'reactionary' and to condemn that which has got to be condemned is 'anti-Tamil', so be it.

As a strong supporter of the struggle of the Tamil people against blatant discrimination and injustice by a succession of Sinhala-dominated governments, I have been dismayed by recent events which you, and only you, have had the guts to condemn.

Many years ago when I first attempted to make my small contribution in support of the struggle of the Tamil people for equality and justice in the country of their birth, the Tamils held the moral high-ground. I was glad to be identified with the Tamil people and their entirely justifiable struggle. Over the years, I watched with increasing anxiety, as a liberation struggle drifted into one which has compelled Amnesty International to even extend its mandate, so that some of the atrocities could be exposed and condemned. I watched with disappointment as respected members of the Tamil community struggled to justify the unjustifiable. The two lone voices that refused to be intimidated, that refused to blindly toe the party line, that took a disciplined stance, were the *Tamil Times* and the University Teachers for Human Rights (Jaffna Branch). Only these two had the courage, honesty, and, dare I say it, patriotism, to condemn that which had to be condemned without fear or favour and highlight the plight of the Tamil civilian population.

In my Foreword to that remarkable book *The Broken Palmyra* that cost one of the authors her life, I concluded, 'I have no doubt that the authors will be condemned by Tamil fanatics as "traitors to the Tamil cause" for exposing what is going on in Jaffna .... It is hoped that when sanity returns, the authors of this exceptional book will be recognised as true patriots and their work an outstanding contribution aimed at preventing the establishment of anarchy in Sri Lanka'.

May I express similar sentiments on this tenth anniversary of the *Tamil Times* and say that if and when sanity returns and/or the Tamil people obtain some relief from their present suffering, I hope that the contribution made by the *Tamil Times*, its exceptional editor, dedicated manager and committed staff who have managed to keep this paper going under the most difficult circumstances, will be recognised.

Dr. Brian Senewiratne
Brisbane, Australia.

TEN YEARS OF 'TAMIL TIMES'

'Non-Sectarian and Humanist'

We congratulate the *Tamil Times* on the completion of 10 years of publication.

Notwithstanding its name, the efforts of *Tamil Times* to avoid sectarianism and opt for an all-island perspective and the policy of a negotiated solution to our vexed national question on the basis of the recognition and acceptance of the legitimate rights of all communities in the island, is indeed praiseworthy. So also its dedication to the maxim: 'Facts are sacred, comment is free'.

At a time when distortions, half-truths and even downright falsehoods are the stock-in-trade of sectarian chauvinist groups and journals of all kinds, it goes without saying that strict adherence to proper journalistic standards and respect for all communities becomes a prime need and duty of all who pride themselves as Sri Lankans.

May *Tamil Times* continue to uphold its avowed standards of journalism and its non-sectarian and humanist approach to issues in Sri Lanka in the years to come.

Yours sincerely

Vijaya Vidyasagara
'Christian Worker'
Colombo, Sri Lanka.

'Comprehensive and Impartial'

I welcome this opportunity to congratulate the *Tamil Times* on the tenth anniversary of its first publication. Throughout this period the coverage by the *T.T.* of concerns vital to the Sri Lankan Tamil Community has been comprehensive, relevant, impartial and unconstrained. We await every issue not only for the news but also for the many points of view so freely expressed.

That all this has been achieved is due to the philosophy of the publication – so much in evidence in the spirit and wisdom of the editorials. We wish your publication well in the future – for all our sakes.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. J.C.V. Chinnappa
Brisbane, Australia.

'For the Good of All'

Our felicitations and thanks for your 10 years of dedication to the cause of peace with justice in Sri Lanka.

At a time when soldiers and militants are prepared to give their lives for uniting the country or freeing their people according to their persuasions, it is good that there are persons like you from all the communities who are prepared to give their lives for the common good of all within a united Sri Lanka with the safeguarding of the rights of all peoples and communities.

More strength to your pen.

Rev. Tissa Balasuriya
Centre for Society and Religion,
Colombo, Sri Lanka.

'Commitment for Justice'

I have been reading with great interest *Tamil Times* for the last eight years. I have been impressed not only with the coverage of news relating to Sri Lanka, but also the cogent analysis and commitment for justice to the Tamil minority groups. The magazine has a tremendous impact on overseas Tamils; it has also been a medium through which the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka has got internationalised. I wish the journal all success.

Wishing you a very happy and prosperous new year and with warm regards.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. V. Suryanarayan
University of Madras,
South India.

'Ten Years of Success'

I am pleased to note that *Tamil Times* has completed ten years of publication. I remember well the meeting and discussions at C.J.T.'s place which led to the starting of the *Tamil Times*.

I congratulate the Editor, Mr. Rajanayagam, the First Manager, Mr. C.J.T. Thamotheram and the later Manager, Mr. N.S. Kandiah for all these years of successful publishing. I know well the problems caused by shortage of funds and facilities.

The thanks of the Tamil Community should go to all those responsible. I wish the Journal continued service to the Tamil Community.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. J. Eliezer
La Trobe University,
Australia.

'Balanced and Independent'

Congratulations to the *Tamil Times* on the Tenth Anniversary of its publication. Tamil citizens all over the world should feel greatly indebted to the small band of dedicated volunteers whose untiring efforts and enormous personal sacrifices had made it possible for the *Tamil Times* to be edited, printed and distributed uninterruptedly during the past ten years.

I have been a regular subscriber to *Tamil Times* since it was first published in October 1981, and have received and read all subsequent issues. It is no exaggeration to say that *Tamil Times* was the first to focus international attention on the continuing atrocities and injustices inflicted on Ealam Tamils with the active connivance of successive governments. It also succeeded in canvassing world opinion and support in favour of the legitimate grievances and causes of the Tamil community. The journal has maintained a sturdy independence in its coverage and reporting on events and issues affecting the political and economic future of the Ealam Tamils. You have also attempted as far as possible to present a balanced picture of the problems facing our community. Perhaps, not every one will agree with the opinions and views you have so forcefully articulated in your columns. But certainly no one can and should grudge your right and freedom to do so.

The years that lie immediately ahead forebode a still more turbulent and difficult period for the Ealam Tamils. The *Tamil Times* should therefore continue to play a crucial role in highlighting their plight and in mobilizing international opinions and support for an early peaceful resolution of their problems.

May the Almighty give you and your team the necessary strength and courage to continue your services undaunted.

Yours sincerely,

S. Selvaratnam
Rtd. UN Expert,
Bangkok, Thailand.

'Excellent Job'

You have certainly done an excellent job of work over the past ten years and done it with commitment and without self-advertisement. If there had been more like you, *Tamil Times* need not even have been necessary, as all of us – Tamils, Sinhalese, Moors & Burghers – would have lived and laughed and loved together as in our youth and not be as tragically and senselessly

TEN YEARS OF 'TAMIL TIMES'

divided as we are today. All I can say is, Go on please, until you have made yourself and *TT* expendable.

Yours

Rev. Paul Caspersz
'Satyodaya',
Kandy, Sri Lanka.

'An Invaluable Source'

To have succeeded in producing *Tamil Times* for a decade under the practical constraints you have is a remarkable achievement. The publication has become an invaluable source not only of information but also of informed comment on the situation in Sri Lanka. This is particularly helpful in Britain, where the media give such sparse coverage of events there. Congratulations!

Jonathan Fryer
Writer and Broadcaster,
BBC London.

'As You See It'

The readers of *Tamil Times* are most grateful to you and your colleagues for starting this most informative journal under difficult circumstances. While this is a major achievement, you have seen to it that it has been sustained for 10 long years.

Tamil Times tells it as you see it. You have to be congratulated for your success. I wish you and the magazine many years of life.

Sincerely,

Prof. M. Sundaralingam
The Ohio University, USA.

'Reliable and Unique'

Yours is a splendid publication.

May I congratulate you on the continued excellence of the *Tamil Times*. I find it reliable and a unique source of information on Lanka.

Yours,

Prof. Bruce Mathews
University of Canada.

'Trusted and Reliable'

CAFOD would like to send you and the staff of the *Tamil Times* best wishes on your 10th anniversary, and our sincere thanks and congratulations for achieving ten years of uninterrupted publication of the *Tamil Times*

We certainly recognise your periodical as a trusted, reliable source of information and objective comment, not only on the continued struggle of the Tamil people of the north and east of Sri Lanka, but also on the problems that beset the people of the south.

We hope, in some way, the *Tamil Times* has assisted in helping to reconcile the two communities.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,

Steve Alston
The Catholic Fund,
for Overseas Development,
London SW9.

'Tells the Truth'

Few Third World journals have sought more valiantly, and in the most trying and confused circumstances, to tell the truth than the *Tamil Times*. I wish it the best of luck in the future.

A. Sivanandan
Editor, Race & Class.

'Exemplary Work'

Those who have governed *Tamil Times* and *Tamil Times's* long time Editor, P. Rajanayagam, deserve congratulations for carrying out their onerous obligations in so exemplary a manner.

Prof. A. Jeyaratnam Wilson
University of Brunswick,
Canada.

'Cause of Rationality'

Congratulations for completing ten years of publication of high profile journalism which has come to characterise the *Tamil Times*. I personally view a subscription to it as a subscription to the cause of rationality which is well deserved and needs shouting about.

With best regards,

Dr. S.R. Silvapulle
Lecturer, Westminster College,
London.

'Consistent and Fearless'

Congratulations on your completing ten years of publication. The *Tamil Times*, over these years has steadily improved in its quality and usefulness as a media to present the trials and anxieties of the Shri Lankan Tamils. This paper has continued to give an opportunity to its readers to discuss all sides and views of the Tamil problem, without promoting parochial interests. It is heartening to see the consistency of the *Tamil Times* in its fearless condemnation of the violation of Human Rights, and the practice of double standards in the politics of Shri Lanka from whatever quarters they appear.

At a time like this when all Shri Lankans, Singhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and Burghers, are longing for the end of violence, the *Tamil Times* with its advocacy for a truly democratic and negotiated settlement of the Tamil problem has earned its place as a paper that is readable by all Shri Lankans.

Congratulations and good wishes.

Dr. K. Iswara
Staten Island,
New York.

'A Great Achievement'

Greetings and congratulations to the *Tamil Times* from SCOT, on the completion of ten years of continued publication. To publish a paper without interruption for over ten years and to do so relying entirely on the support of subscribers is indeed a great achievement.

There has always been a large area of overlap in the aspirations of the two Institutions. Whilst SCOT recognises that there may not be total agreement all the time with the views expressed by *Tamil Times*, it has nevertheless attached great value to the contribution made by the paper in keeping the international community informed of the continuing hardships in terms of basic human rights and poverty confronting the Tamils in Srilanka. Violation of basic human rights from whichever quarter it arises ought to be condemned and *Tamil Times* should never cease to campaign for peace, inter-racial justice and equality. Those who have been fortunate in finding abodes in environments of affluence and freedom must never forget those who have chosen not to forsake their land of birth or those who may wish to leave but, for various reasons, are unable to do so.

SCOT (Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People) is a registered charity and has been in existence for more than fourteen years. Its main objectives are the relief of poverty among Tamil speaking people and the promotion of efforts by peaceful means, directed towards the recognition and protection of fundamental human rights. SCOT, whilst rededicating itself to these ideals, sends its best wishes to the *Tamil Times* for many more years of service to the community.

K. Sivakumar
President – SCOT.

People Keep Away From 'Liberated Islands'

Seven islands situated off the coast of Jaffna peninsula in northern Sri Lanka are today virtually devoid of population. These were islands which were retaken from control of the Tamil Tigers in October last year after a massive military operation by the Sri Lankan security forces which resulted in hundreds of civilian casualties as the Tigers withdrew without putting up much resistance.

Over ninety percent of the civilian population who fled the islands in the wake of the military operations have not yet returned despite strenuous efforts made and incentives offered by the government and its allied Tamil groups like the Eelam Peoples Democratic Party (EPDP). Offers of adequate supply of free food and other essentials have failed to woo the people.

Of the islands' total population of 150,000, only about 12,500 are residing there, most of whom are the elderly and small children who could not join the others in the exodus.

In the largest and the most populated of the islands, Kayts, the two battalions of soldiers outnumber the 466 women, children and elderly men who remain out of the 74,000 inhabitants who lived here before the fighting began.

An additional Government Agent was appointed recently to speed up the restoration of the civil administration, and hospital, a police station and two post offices were set up recently. Lieut. Col. Lawrence Fonseka who is in charge of the island said. 'We are trying to speed up the process of re-establishing the civil administration, hoping that it will persuade those who had fled to comeback'.

Arumugam Sangarapillai, aged 66, a retired paramedic, who works at the Kayts hospital, which was reopened recently after being shut down for several years, on a voluntary basis is the only person with any medical training at all. He said that he could not admit any patients. 'I have no nurse here, I am getting a labourer to help me with my work. We have more than enough beds and all the essential medicines. What we really need urgently is a doctor', he said.

'I get about fifteen patients, and more than fifty percent of them suffer from depression and psychological and psychiatric ailments because of the trauma they have had to go through. Most of the families have been separated because of the war. The women and children are left here, but the men, especially the young, live in the areas under the control of the LTTE, and they cannot travel here freely', Mr. Sangarapillai added.

A 65-year-old woman, Annammah, wept outside the hospital, saying that she wanted to cross into the peninsula to be reunited with her grandchildren, who fled with their father just as the last year's military operations began.

A local resident said that five of the islands were under the control of the Tamil Tigers until October last year when the military offensive was launched, and they put up little resistance and fled to the peninsular mainland along with the rest of the population.

Police Superintendent, S. Gurusinghe told journalists taken to the islands on a conducted tour that there had been not a single traffic offence registered since the 70-man police station was opened a month ago. Perhaps that is not surprising as there are no vehicles on the narrow and dusty roads except for the occasional military jeep or Saladin armoured car.

Mr. Gurusinghe said that 20 of the 70 policemen were Tamil officers but admitted the others did not know the Tamil language spoken by the people of the area. He also acknowledged that his men had no real work except to guard the police station and symbolise their control and presence.

Sivanandan Nallanathan is the local postmaster who is assisted by postman and a porter. He handled two or three letters a day since the post office was opened on 14 February this year.

It was revealed that the mail that came in or went out is monitored by the EPDP which is cooperating with the security forces. Both incoming and outgoing letters were opened by the cadres of the EPDP. In answer to questions from journalists, Col. Lawrence Fonseka conceded, 'There is no security requirement for the EPDP to read other peoples' letters', and claimed that he was unaware that the letters were being opened and read as alleged.

However, Col. Fonseka acknowledged that the army had supplied the EPDP cadres with arms and ammunition. 'About two hundred of them are on guard duty in two of the islands and they also assist us in the distribution of food', he said.

TAMIL TIMES

Annual Subscription Rates

UK/India/Sri Lanka: £10.00/US$20.00
Australia: Aus.$40
Canada: Can.$35
All other countries: £15.00/US$30.00

Please complete this form and post to

TAMIL TIMES Ltd., PO Box 121 Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD

deleting whichever is inapplicable.

I wish to pay/renew my subscription for one year/two years/three years

I am sending you a gift subscription on behalf of:

.....

.....

Please send an introductory copy to:

.....

.....

I enclose a donation of .....

My cheque/draft/M.O. in favour of Tamil Times Ltd is to the total value of .....

Name .....
(BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE)

Address .....

.....

Post Code ..... Tel.No. .....

T.V.G. – Golden Year in Music

Shri T.V. Gopalkrishnan popularly known as T.V.G. was born on 11.6.32 and started life as a mridangist at the age of 6. He is one of the brightest stars shining in the musical firmament of contemporary India. This versatile genius has mastered both Carnatic and Hindustani vocal music and percussion, including the king of all percussion – Mridangam. He has several musical and instrumental compositions in Indian Music and Jazz to his credit. His Jazz concerts have been acclaimed as a bridge between Indian and Western music.

On 11.6.92, when he is 60 years old and completes 50 Golden Years of Music Service, we, his admirers and

disciples greet him and wish that the Almighty will grant him many more years of service to the community.

Mr. & Mrs. Gilda, and Masters Angelo and Marino Kumarathasan
11 Edith Road,
Selhurst,
London SE25 5QE

Who is Udugampola?

Until his recent fall from his high pedestal, one of the most powerful and feared men in Sri Lanka's security apparatus, Deputy Inspector General of Police and Head of the Bureau of Special Investigations, Mr. Premadasa Udugampola, has disappeared and gone underground after his recent sensational revelations about the phenomenon of death squads known as 'Black Cats', kick-back and corruption in high places, vote-rigging etc. Despite the massive manhunt mounted by his former colleagues of the CID, it is rumoured that Udugampola is now safely out of the country and has sought asylum in a foreign country.

'Who is Udugampola' is an extract from Rohan Gunaratne's book 'A Lost Revolution: The Inside Story of the JVP'.

In many ways, the symbol of resistance to the JVP has become Premadasa Udugampola. His name evoked both fear and respect. His methods, although anticipated as harsh by some, have proven highly effective. If fire can only be fought by fire, Udugampola is a weapon of incendiary success.

Sometime before Premadasa Udugampola was posted to the Southern Province, he was Deputy Director, Presidential Security Division. To this date, the men who served under him claim that he was an officer and a gentleman. He was known as a 'Law abiding, duty bound and conscientious individual.' Then he was posted to the South to fight the JVP militancy. To quote Udugampola, 'this was at a point of time when the government found out that the top hierarchy of the police had lapsed into a state of indolent complacency perhaps due to the fear psychosis.' Soon the JVP hit teams operational in Southern Sri Lanka reported to Wijeweera and Gamanayake that it was 'impossible to kill Udugampola.' Then the Kangaroo court ordered death to his family. His mother, brother and wife, and their children were put to death and burnt in their ancestral home. This was the turning point in his life – Udugampola tracked and apprehended the fourteen men responsible for carrying out the order, including Wijedasa Liyanarachchi, allegedly the chief of the Kangaroo court. When death was imminent, Liyanarachchi confessed to Udugampola that, even though he was an attorney-at-law, he believed in the Lynch Law. This Law was named after Captain William Lynch (1742-1820), a member of a vigilante committee. Lynch established that a man should be tried by a court of two or three people as opposed to a Court of Law. Even though the revelations leading to Liyanarachchi's death are little known, the fact that he died of hundred injuries while in custody is now public.

Avenging killer squads?

After this episode, Udugampola's true thinking has never become public. In the areas he commanded, small groups of hand-picked trained men armed with automatics in unmarked vehicles roamed the towns and the villages. The three squads of fifteen men were recruited from families that had suffered at the hands of the JVP. Therefore, they were highly motivated to hunt and kill their enemy to avenge the death of their loved ones. Members and sympathizers of the JVP rarely escaped the wrath of these men whose sole objective was to see their enemy wiped out. Soon they developed into determined aggressors and began to prey on the relatives, friends and families of JVP cadres. Those abducted were later found with their necks slashed along the road side. Then the fear psychosis which was taken to a high pitch by the JVP began to have 'reverse action'. As the battle intensified regulars from the services joined them and soon this style of operation became widely acceptable as the most efficient method of fighting the enemy. This time the JVP was taken by surprise – they never anticipated that the state and the state-sponsored forces would ever copy and adopt their operational methods and unconventional tactics in combating them. The JVP strategy had held good for long but the moment the government and the pro-government forces adopted the enemy strategy, the JVP was forced to incur heavy losses and to retreat. As feelings of the people became a non-entity in the war, the power and the position of the formidable JVP began to perish. Those at the top accepted and sanctioned the 'Search-Interrogate-Destroy' method. Until the last man was apprehended and eliminated and until the incidents of violence dropped to zero, the squads operated in the countryside performing their mission – a task entrusted to them and a task they had to accomplish for their survival.

The creation of this formidable force

Continued on page 35

'Fighting the enemy their way'

by Rohan Gunaratna

As the New Year dawns, Premadasa Udugampola, Deputy Inspector General of Police, has once again become the centre of controversy. As the protagonist in the government war against the JVP, Udugampola relentlessly hunted and vanquished leaders, cadres and sympathizers who were trying to topple two UNP governments. This was the mandate given to him by two leaders, and with the support of the state machinery he executed it.

At the height of the JVP campaign, Udugampola was an influential and a powerful man. When the authority of the government extended only as far as the walls of the Presidential Secretariat, Udugampola was the only symbol of resistance to the JVP. The conventional methods of operating within and outside the law, used by Udugampola were adopted by other members of the Armed forces and his colleagues in the police departments. This was the only effective way – the Udugampola formula – the formidable JVP could be fought. Udugampola called it 'fighting the enemy their way.' With the slaying of his mother and family Udugampola paid the highest price, but soon, for him revenge became a wild form of justice.

Today, it is ironic that, Udugampola has become a threat to the state. For Udugampola to survive from the law enforcement officers he has resorted to the same strategies and tactics the JVP used to escape from him. He is fighting the very state he had once fought to preserve. In Udugampola's perception, this is the only way he can survive from his 'new enemy'. Events should have never been allowed to take this direction by either side. To understand the Udugampola episode the role he played during the years of terror and his relationship with the state has to be examined. To many of us the rise and the fall of Udugampola is an invaluable lesson from history. We have only seen the beginning of the Udugampola episode – by nature, the man is an ambitious yet a kind person, but if provoked can be very revengeful. His friends call him Angel, others call him the Angel of death.

(The Sunday Times, 19.4.92.).

How India 'Saved the LTTE from Imminent Destruction'

An extract from the former President, J.R. Jayewardene's recently released book 'Men and Memories'.

The Government of Central India continued to campaign throughout the world against the Government of Sri Lanka. The Indian embassies abroad became centres of support for the terrorists and separatist groups. This led to the reluctance on the part of some of the Western powers to supply arms and other aid to Sri Lanka. They were all anxious not to offend India.

In April 1986, the Indian Government sent to Sri Lanka a new delegation led by a Minister of State, P. Chidambaram (40), a young Tamil and Natwar Singh, the Minister of State for External Affairs. An official communique in May 1986, announced that the Sri Lanka Government agreed to make further concessions beyond the terms of the Delhi Accord, concessions that dealt with Law and Order, Land Settlement etc.

Sri Lanka meanwhile, embarked on a new political initiative, the Political Parties Conference with eight political parties, that met me on 25 June 1986.

These talks continued in July 1986. A TULF delegation also arrived in Sri Lanka from India and had formal talks with me in July and August 1986.

Left parties

The discussions between the Government of Sri Lanka and the TULF and the discussions and debates within the Political Parties Conference, continued for over three months. The SLFP boycotted these discussions. All the other parties, including the traditional Left parties which were not represented in Parliament, also participated in these discussions.

They agreed to proposals which formed the basis of discussions between me and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi when we met in Bangalore at the SAARC Summit on the 17 and 18 November 1986. At the end of the Conference, it was announced that apart from the subjects of Finance, and Administration, which were not clarified by the TULF, the matters which required further clarification, modification and agreement, were fully set out in a working paper on the Bangalore discussions dated 19 November 1986.

The LTTE alone refused to accept these proposals. For the first time, the Indian Government imposed restrictions on Sri Lanka Tamil terrorists operating from Indian territory. These were nullified by the Tamil Nadu Government's non-cooperation in these moves. Attempts were made by the Central Government to prevent the LTTE leader Prabhakaran from leaving India for Jaffna, unsuccessfully.

Chidambaram and Natwar Singh visited Colombo for further discussions with me for the third time on 17 December 1986. No agreement could be reached at these discussions for (a) the merger of the two provinces (the North and the East) or (b) exclusion of the Amparai District from the Eastern Province.

Two ministers

An official statement issued after the 19 December meeting, made the following points.

President J.R. Jayewardene and the two Indian Ministers discussed further ideas in continuation of the discussions held in the past. At the end of the discussions, the following proposals emerged:

(i) The present territory comprising the Eastern Province minus the Amparai Electoral District may constitute the new Eastern Province.

(ii) A Provincial Council will be established for the new Eastern Province.

(iii) The institutional linkages between the Northern Province and the Eastern Province discussed earlier will be further refined in order to make it more acceptable to the parties concerned.

(iv) The Sri Lanka Government will be willing to consider a proposal for a second stage of constitutional development providing for the Northern Province and the new Eastern Province coming together subject to modalities being agreed upon for ascertaining the wishes of the people comprised in the Northern Province and the Eastern Province separately.

(v) The Sri Lankan Government is willing to consider the creation of an office of Vice-President to be appointed by the President for a specified term.

(vi) The five (5) Muslim M.P.s of the Eastern Province may be invited to visit India and to discuss matters of mutual concern with the Tamil side under the auspices of the Government of India.

Military moves

It would appear that the LTTE was intent on scuttling the agreement that the two governments were on the verge of signing and as a means of preventing this they hit upon the notion of a unilateral declaration of Independence in the North of the Island. The Sri Lanka Government's response to this was predictably tough. In an attempt to pre-empt such a declaration, the government sent troop reinforcements into the Eastern and Northern province with instructions to clear these areas of the LTTE and other separatist groups.

The Indian Government, much perturbed by this turn of events, put considerable pressure on the Sri Lankan Government to abandon these military moves and to resume the search for a political solution. These public expressions of displeasure from New Delhi strained relations between the two countries in February and March 1987. On 14 March 1987, an Indian emissary, another Minister of State, Dinesh Singh, was sent to meet me in the hope that the political process could be revived.

The government decided to make an attempt to regain control of the Jaffna peninsula. 'Operation Liberation', which began in April 1987 in the Vadamarachchi division of the North-Eastern part of the peninsula, was directed at preventing the hitherto easy movement of men and material from Tamil Nadu. By the end of May, Sri Lankan forces had gained control of this area. The LTTE, the most formidable Tamil separatist group, had suffered a serious setback, and in a region they had dominated for long.

At this point, India moved swiftly to prevent the subjugation of the Jaffna peninsula by the Sri Lanka forces. The Indian High Commissioner, J.N. Dixit, pointedly informed Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security, that India would not permit the Sri Lanka Army to take Jaffna town. The same message was conveyed to me.

An envelope

In the course of my speech at the Bank of Ceylon's new headquarters building opening on 27 May, I dwelt at some length on the Vadamarachchi operation, and the government's intention to proceed with that till the LTTE forces were defeated. In the evening, Dixit called on me at my home in Ward Place and conveyed a message from Rajiv. The gist of it was

Continued on page 29

Cold War with the Press in Tamil Nadu

– N. Kalyanasundaram

A storm is brewing in Tamil Nadu engulfing the State Government and the print media at the national level over the rights and privileges of the legislature vis-a-vis the Fourth Estate.

What sparked the bitter row between the two is a rather stiff punishment pronounced by the Legislative Assembly against two correspondents and three newspaper editors on charges of breach of privilege and contempt of the House. With the affected journalists taking the issue to the Supreme Court, and the Legislature as of now unwilling to accept the pleas for leniency, there is the prospect of the issue being fought to the bitter end.

Apart from the serious concern expressed by leading newspapers and organisations of editors and journalists across the country over the aggressive stand of the Assembly or for that matter, the Chief Minister, the chain of events has only exposed the high degree of intolerance on the part of politicians and public figures to any kind of adverse observation in the press.

Outbursts against the Press and attempts to muzzle newspapers to prevent expression of views critical of those in power are not new to Tamil Nadu. During the previous regimes also widely-circulated weeklies and dailies such as *Thuglak Kumudam*, and *Dinamalar* were set upon by the henchmen of powerful politicians. The Tamil daily *Alai Osai* once fell a victim for holding views opposed to the power centres. And there have been several instances of harassment of varying degrees of non-partisan national English dailies.

In April 1987, the State-Assembly sentenced Mr. S. Balasubramaniam, Editor of *Ananda Vikatan*, an influential Tamil weekly, to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three months on a charge of breach of privilege of the House in respect of a cartoon (relating to MLAs and Ministers) published in the cover page of the magazine.

Now, in the case of *Illustrated Weekly*, Mr. S.R. Balasubramaniam, Leader of the Opposition (and leader of the Congress-I an electoral ally of the ruling AIADMK) moved the motion of privilege and that has given a leverage to the Chief Minister, Ms. Jayalalitha to argue that she is not involved in the issue at all. And there was no perceptible protest from the few who belong to the Opposition parties other than the Congress(I), either when the House accepted the Privileges Committee's recommendations for a stiff punishment or when the Speaker decided to issue the summons.

When the *Ananda Vikatan* Editor was sent to prison, there was a chorus of protest from the votaries of freedom of expression from all over the country and a boycott of the House proceedings by the press corps. That made the then Speaker, Mr. P.H. Pandian, who had arrogated to himself 'sky-high power,' relent and order the release of Mr. Balasubramanian on the third day, of course 'in deference to the wishes of the Chief Minister, M.G. Ramachandran'.

Another occasion when the Tamil Nadu Government was forced to bow before popular pressure was when the MGR regime chose to have legislation to make 'scurrilous writing' a cognisable and non-bailable offence with provision for enhancement of penalty in the second and subsequent conviction. When the measure, dubbed a black bill got the Presidential assent in 1984, the entire journalistic fraternity rose as one man to fight it tooth and nail and the Act was withdrawn.

The latest bout of attack on press freedom in Tamil Nadu has highlighted the urgent need for the press to seek a lasting solution to the problem. In fact four journalists organisations in Madras have sought a discussion with the Chief Minister on the issue.

Almost all the journalists organisations reacted sharply to the punishment handed out to the Editor of the *Illustrated Weekly* as also the Editors of *Murasoli* (DMK organ) and *Kovai Malaimurasu* (with DMK leanings). The protest intensified with the Speaker issuing an arrest warrant against Mr. Sunil on his failure to appear before the Bar of the House to receive a reprimand. The hurt feeling among journalists is more because the directive to arrest Mr. Sunil (no more in the employ of the *Illustrated Weekly*) has come in spite of his having expressed regret for any offence caused to any member of the House by his writing the article in question.

Sensing the snowballing effect of the opposition to the happenings in the Assembly of the privileges issue the Chief Minister granted an interview to representatives of two journalist bodies which had attempted to sort out

Continued on page 30

Continued from page 28

written by Dixit on an envelope! It read as follows:

1. Deeply disappointed and distressed.

2. Thousands of civilians killed since 1983 has aroused tremendous indignation.

3. Your latest offensive in Jaffna peninsula has altered the entire basis of our understanding.

4. We cannot accept genocide.

5. Please do not force us to review our policies.

The 'review of our policies' which Dixit threatened on behalf of the Indian Government, came very quickly. There was first a public monetary grant of US$ 3.2 from the Tamil Nadu Government to the LTTE and its allies. The Indian Government, for its part, escalated the level of its own involvement in Sri Lanka when it announced that it was sending shipments of food and petroleum products to Jaffna, which, it claimed, was facing a severe shortage of these items through a blockade by the Sri Lankan forces.

Air drop

Despite the refusal of the Sri Lankan Government to accept this offer or concede the need for it, a first shipment, in a flotilla of about 20 Indian fishing vessels, was dispatched on 3 June 1987, but was turned back by the Sri Lanka Navy. When this happened, the Indian Air Force in a blatant violation of International Law and of the Sri Lankan airspace, dropped food and medical supplies to Jaffna on the following day. All these constituted an unmistakable demonstration of Indian support for the Tamil separatists movement in Sri Lanka. The Indian supply of food to Jaffna continued over the next few weeks by sea with the formal, but clearly reluctant, agreement of the Sri Lankan Government. In the rest of the country, the mood was a mixture of anxiety over a long war of attrition in the North.

The demonstration of India's sea and air power achieved a number of objectives. It saved the LTTE from imminent destruction, stopped any further expansion of the Sri Lanka Army's campaign after Vadamarachchi, and reduced the Sri Lanka Government to military impotence if India continued to give more help to the terrorist movement, especially the LTTE.

Letter from Mannar

The Return of Refugees from India

The issue of the return of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in India took on a high profile following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. The Indian government was at first careful to send back only those refugees who wished to return voluntarily. The situation changed qualitatively after President Premadasa claimed vocally that the Sri Lankan government was adequately prepared to receive the refugees. It has been reported by recent returnees that increasing indirect pressure is being applied by Indian officials to bring about the 'voluntary' exodus. The pressure takes the form of shifting refugee camps on Indian soil at very short notice; non-entertainment of representations from refugees; and frequent questioning and checking. It has been said by the refugees that during the rule of the previous DMK state government, Indian administrators were very careful to act on representations made by refugees.

The Sri Lankan government is however at present unwilling and unable to cope with the returnees. Nor is the security situation conducive for the refugees from the mainland to go to their villages. India too initially declined to send back mainland refugees voluntarily or otherwise. Those from the mainland who wished to return did so by registering themselves as coming from Mannar Island, by bribing officials. Subsequently this precedent was seized upon and many mainlanders were registered by Indian officials as from Mannar Island and returned. The Sri Lankan authorities now find themselves unable to provide the basic infrastructural requirements for any surge of population on Mannar Island. Water is scarce because the supply from Giant's Tank on the mainland is cut. Since the overland route to Colombo is unusable, food has to be brought by sea and the facilities for unloading are minimal. At present ships bringing supplies anchor out at sea off Thalvupaadu and small boats have to fetch the goods. Boatmen try to avoid this work because of possible damage to boats resulting from knocking against the ship in rough sea. There is next to no electric power and public transport on the Island.

Security most of all poses the deepest concern. The Tamil population, the Muslim returnees and the security forces live in mutual fear – the first having no voice against either the security forces, the Muslim militia or LTTE infiltrators. A group of Muslim returnees recently went to the Tamil refugee camp at Pesalai to check for knives and other such implements. About mid-April two Tamil civilians disappeared in the Pesalai area, one of whom had just returned from India. The Sri Lankan forces claim that they have no knowledge of the incident. The ground situation is that the army can produce a variety of alibis. In the absence of a political settlement, forcing Tamils to return from India is creating the ingredients for a major tragedy.

A Concerned Citizen

Mannar,
Sri Lanka,
5 May 1992.

Continued from page 29

the various problems getting in the way of the normal functioning of the press in Tamil Nadu.

At the meeting which took place on April 18 (the arrest warrant was issued on April 20), among other things, the matter relating to the breach of privilege came up for discussion. The Chief Minister, Ms. Jayalalitha, was forthright in her assertion that a campaign of vilification was being carried on against her by some newspapers and magazines for some years now, and it was because she was tolerant that she had chosen to ignore even the very wicked attacks.

In saying that, perhaps, Ms. Jayalalitha was not trying to exaggerate. She had been subjected to the wildest form of attack in the yellow press and some newspapers and magazines which were opposed to her politically. Even after she became Chief Minister with an unprecedented people's mandate, the vilification campaign has continued in a section of the press, controlled by and sympathetic to the beaten enemies of Ms. Jayalalitha. It has been her grouse that even some renowned dailies put up stories based on tendentious reports published in yellow journals.

At her meeting with press representatives, the Chief Minister stoutly denied rumours about her bringing in legislation to put an end to scurrilous writings. 'When and where did I make this suggestion,' she asked.

In fact, when she started off as Chief Minister, she made a statement in the Assembly expressing the view that since the opposition minus the ruling party ally, the Congress(I) is meagre, the press would have to assume the role of the real and effective opposition to maintain the checks and balance. However, within a few days after the declaration the ire of the rulers turned on the press and a cold war started.

The strained relationship between the press and the rulers is traced to the administration having distanced itself from the press, making access to official information difficult. The excuse, of course, is found in 'security', and thus the suffocating restrictions on journalists. While one appreciates the threat Ms. Jayalalitha is facing, one cannot really understand how that should prevent her or her Cabinet colleagues meeting representatives of the press periodically to remove misgivings and irritants. Now, the press has no access even to the Chief Secretary, head of the executive, which was never the case in the past. If misreporting occurs in the mainstream press often the authorities are to blame for it.

In the assessment of senior journalists, unbridled sycophancy prevails in such a situation, the leaders succumb to the temptation of pressuring newspapers for their political ends. Also, the over reaction of politicians to criticism which should be generally ignored, often has the effect of bringing obscure magazines to prominence and lends credence to fiction.

(*The Hindu*, 2.5.92).

Continued from page 15

the distribution of aid money will now be oriented on the basis of human rights record in the receiving countries. Sri Lanka got 25 million dollars in addition to the sum it had asked for. Mainly from the American side there was even praise for the 'improvements' that have taken place in Sri Lanka during 1991.

Indications how the money will be spent immediately appeared in Colombo. Only a few days after the end of the Paris conference 'The Island' published a report about plans of the Sri Lankan government to approve the demand of the air force for new bombers from China.

The Case of Rajiv Gandhi's Murder

Coming to Court Soon

T.S. Subramanian
in Madras

The most intensive investigation into any assassination in recent history will soon be wrapped up when the Special Investigation Team (SIT) of the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), probing the murder of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, files the charge-sheet before May 21, the first anniversary. The trial will begin soon after and is expected to last about eight months.

'We have cracked the case,' said a CBI official. SIT officials are now consulting legal experts in preparing the charge-sheet under various sections of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) and the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA Act).

According to CBI officials, there is enough evidence to name the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, V. Prabakaran, as the No. 1 accused and the group's intelligence chief, Pottu Amman, as the No. 2 accused.

Twentyone others will be named as the accused. They are: Murugan, Bhagyanathan, Padma, Nalini, Sankar, Robert Pius, Perarivalan, Jeyakumar, Suba Sundaram, Kanagasabapathy, Athirai, Vijayan, Bhaskaran, Chinna Santhan, Rangan alias Rajasuriya, Ranganathan, Irumporai, Dhanasekaran, Ravichandran, Mahesh and Vicky alias Vigneswaran.

All of them are now in detention under various sections of the TADA Act. Of them, nine are Indians. Padma is the mother of Bhagyanathan and Nalini. Suba Sundaram is a portly photographer whose studio was the rendezvous for LTTE men. Perarivalan and Irumporai are Dravida Kazhagam activists. Ranganathan is an industrialist from Bangalore who let out his house to Sivarajan, Subha and five others who were cornered there. Ravichandran and Mahesh belonged to the Tamil National Retrieval Front, trained by the LTTE to fight for an independent Tamil Nadu.

According to a legal expert, filing of the charge-sheet would amount to a virtual announcement that the police have completed the investigation. According to Section 173(2)(i) of the Criminal Procedure Code, the charge-sheet should list the names of the parties; the nature of the charge; the names of persons acquainted with the circumstances of the case; whether any offence appeared to have been committed and, if so, by whom; whether the accused had been arrested; whether he/she had been released on bond and, if so, whether with or without sureties; and whether he/she had been remanded to custody under Section 170.

The legal expert said the 21 accused could be charged under Section 120 (B) (conspiracy to commit an illegal act) and Section 302 (murder) of the IPC, the Explosive Substances Act and Section 3 of the TADA Act – which defines a terrorist act as 'an intent to overawe the Government established by law or strike terror in people or adversely affect harmony among different sections of people by using bombs, dynamite or other explosive substances or firearms, etc.'

With the expiry of the February 28 deadline set by S.M. Siddickk, Judge of the Designated Court, for Prabakaran and Pottu Amman to surrender themselves, a question arises: Can they be tried *in absentia?*

'In India, no accused can be tried *in absentia,'* asserted the legal expert. 'In any form of trial the accused must be brought before the court and the charge-sheet should name him. If there are several accused persons in a case and some of them are absconding, the case of those accused who have been caught must be handled separately. Such persons cannot be kept in custody indefinitely just because the police are not able to nab all the other accused. This is based on the principle that the trial must get under way in the presence of the accused to enable him to defend himself,' he added.

But SIT officials declined to say whether Prabakaran and Pottu Amman would be tried*in absentia.* According to them, 'solid' evidence had been built up against the two on the basis of information given by Sankar, who was arrested near Vedaranyam a few days after the assassination. Sankar provided the earliest breakthrough when he revealed to the police that Sivarajan was the 'brain' behind the assassination; it was again Sankar who provided the vital clue to Sivarajan's identity – that the mastermind was 'one-eyed'.

There is more evidence implicating the LTTE supremo – the letters written by Gundu Santhan (now dead) to Prabakaran, which were seized from a boat in mid-sea by the Indian Navy. The letters, which were being ferried to Jaffna by Irumporai, detailed the difficulties faced by the LTTE in Tamil Nadu when the group's network was busted after the assassination.

Chinna Santhan will be the main witness for it was from his room in Kodambakkam in Madras that the police seized Sivarajan's diaries which throw light on the assassination.

'This is one of the cleanest, fairest investigations based only on truth as estabished by evidence,' said D.R. Karthikeyan, chief of the SIT. 'We followed up whatever the clues and evidence pointed to,' he said.

Karthikeyan denied there was any political interference in the investigation. 'There has been no political interference at all at any level. We were strictly asked to go only on the basis of evidence, facts and law. There were no conjectures, presumptions or speculation.'

Other SIT officials also asserted: 'We were never swayed by any political consideration.' No one was arrested unless there was irrefutable evidence that he was linked with the assassination.

When the SIT began its investigation, it had a challenging task. But photographer Haribabu's camera, which miraculously survived the blast triggered by the belt-bomb assassin Dhanu, provided vital clues.

The investigations suffered a setback early on when N. Shanmugam of Vedaranyam, who had helped the LTTE smuggle and store weapons, escaped from the SIT's custody and was found hanging from a tree. Undeterred by the controversy surrounding his death, the investigators pressed ahead.

The hunt for Sivarajan and Subha ended in August 1991, an eventful, bloody month. The SIT, with the help of the Tamil Nadu police, busted the LTTE's grenade-manufacturing factory in Coimbatore and its wireless communication network in Tiruchi. Then there was a spate of suicides by cornered LTTE men. One climax came on August 20, when Sivarajan and Subha committed suicide as the SIT was preparing to storm their hideout on the outskirts of Bangalore.

With the manhunt virtually over in August last year, the SIT busied itself with the deskwork, culling out evidence and questioning the accused and others to prepare the ground for filing the charge-sheet.

Five months ago, when the investigation was at its peak, the SIT had a staff of 100 officers including Karthikeyan (Inspector-General), four Deputy Inspectors-General, eight Super-

Continued on page 32

NEWS IN BRIEF

● **LEADERS OF** three left political parties, Bernard Soysa (LSSP). K.P. Silva (CP) and Y.P. De Silva (SLMP) in a press release said: 'We have reliable information of a threat to the lives of persons in the leadership of several political parties. Given the developing situation it is possible to conclude that the planned assassination that is disclosed in this information is part of a larger plan in which several other political parties too are under threat. In view of our assessment of the source of this danger, we have after very close consideration decided that this information should be made known to the public'.

● **MAVAI SENATHIRAJAH,** TULF MP, recently said that the government should not avoid putting forward its own proposals for the solution of the ethnic problem. The LTTE was expecting an alternative solution to that of Eelam, and therefore it would be desirable to enter into a dialogue with them.

● **TEN SOLDIERS** including an officer were killed when Tamil Tigers ambushed an army patrol at Thalladi in Vankalai in Mannar district on 18 April. In the ensuing battle between the Tigers and the security forces, the army claimed that many Tiger cadres were killed.

● **DR. NACHINARKINYAR,** President of the Jaffna Red Cross recently told the press that, due to the war and the scarcity of essential food items in the north, the children born in recent years there have been below the expected weight, and there is considerable malnutrition among them. In 1989, 18 percent of the children were found to be below weight which increased to 23 percent in 1991, and if the present situation continued, the percentage of under-weight children would increase. 9000 metric tons of food that was being sent monthly was not sufficient to meet the needs of the people. Hospitals in the district were short of essential drugs.

● **NINE TOWNS** in the Batticaloa district were plunged into darkness from 17 April following the blowing up of several electricity transformers by the Tigers. In a series of attacks, the LTTE destroyed the transformers at Ondachchimadam, Kalawanchikudy, Thennativu, Puthkudiiruppu, Munaitivu, Kovil Poraitivu, Kalathaweli, Kirankulam and Thalakudah.

● **THE SECURITY** forces claimed that 11 boats belonging to the Tigers, which were engaged in laying mines in the sea 8 miles off the northern Valvettiturai coast were destroyed by the Navy on 19 April and in the process many Tigers were also killed. The LTTE claimed that all the boats which were sunk were civilian fishing boats. K. Navaratnam, EPRLF MP, In the course of a speech in parliament said that, in the sea off Point Pedro about 6 to 7 miles from the shore, over 20 fishermen who went fishing in small vallams were shot and killed by the Navy.

● **SANGARAPILLAI BALACHANDRAN** was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment (suspended for 10 years) after pleading guilty to a charge under the Prevention of Terrorism Act of failing to give information about Varathan, who was suspected of involvement in the bomb attack on the headquarters of the Joint Operations Command in Colombo last year. Balachandran was indicted of having failed to provide information to the police that Varathan of the LTTE had aided the JOC bomb explosion and that Kuvendran Dharmalingam, P.A. Cader and Chandrasekeran gave protection to Varathan during the period June 28 and July 3, 1991.

● **A SPOKESMAN** for the Tamil group, PLOTE, claimed that some Tiger activists in Switzerland attacked members of the PLOTE wounding three of them as they participated in a May Day rally at Zurich. In the ensuing clash three of the Tiger supporters were also injured, the spokesman claimed.

Continued from page 31

intendents of Police and Sub-Inspectors working round-the-clock to crack the case. Now, it has about 40 officers at work.

'The LTTE wanted to carry out the perfect murder. But is there any such thing?', asked an SIT official, not without some pride at cracking the case of one of the most ghastly crimes of the century.

***(Frontline,* May 22, 1992).**

Continued from page 5

Javad anguishes over the fact that it was the Muslim villagers who gave refuge to Tiger cadres before the peace talks were initiated between the militants and the government. With the breakdown of the 13-month peace dialogue in June 1990 the Muslims became one of the Tigers' main targets. 'Why don't they tell us what they really want' says Javad who insists that the Muslims are prepared to listen, if only the Tigers would stop attacking them.

'The Tigers see the Muslims as government collaborators' says a senior citizen of Batticaloa.

Like many other Tamils in Batticaloa he sees the rift between the Muslims and Tamils 'becoming wider and wider. It is like a family divided. The demand for regional autonomy was for one linguistic group. But the legitimacy of that demand does not hold anymore' he says with the violent clashes between the two sides.

Having driven the Muslims from the north he feels that the Tigers are determined to drive them out from the east as well.

While Javad claims that Muslims need 'hundreds of soldiers and policemen to accompany them when they move through Tamil villages, Tamil civilians counter claim that they need protection too when they move through Muslim villages in the district.

The argument is reinforced by 86 Tamil families in the half completed cultural centre in Navatkudah, a few kms. from Kattankudy.

These families have lived here for two years surviving on government rations. They refuse to move back to their village which borders Kattankudy and from where they say they have been driven out thrice by Muslim mobs.

In Batticaloa which provides one third of the country's rice, Muslims own a large acreage of the rice fields, some of them farming as much as 600 to 700 acres where Tamils traditionally provided the labour. But with the Tigers controlling the area across the lagoon where the fields are located, the Muslims have lost all control. According to a military official most of the fields have been carved into smaller plots and farmed out to the Tamil civilians by the Tigers. The same thing has happened to the hundreds of head of cattle owned by the Muslims. It is the Tamils who milk these cows and bring the milk to the collecting centre, he says. The resentment of the Muslims therefore according to him, is understandable.

But where does the solution lie with an estimated 800 hardcore militants operating in and around Batticaloa ambushing security patrols at will, killing Muslims and resorting to extortion to fill their depleted coffers.

'Bring them back to the negotiating table' says Joseph. And therein he sees the answer.

BOOK REVIEW

SRI LANKAN CRISIS AND INDIA'S RESPONSE:

Edited by V. Suryanarayan, Patriot Publishers, New Delhi, Rs. 110.

India's first reaction to the latest military offensive in Sri Lanka's Tamil province was a studied silence. All the same it would be unwise to predict whether or not India will continue to remain mum if and when the Sri Lankan Army begins an assault on Jaffna as part of this offensive.

The more one is conversant with the changing style and substance of Delhi's global diplomacy the less sure one tends to be on critical matters such as these. It should also be remembered in this context that the political turbulence in Sri Lanka had quite often upset India's calculations in the past. Not surprisingly, therefore, Delhi's post-Rajiv policy towards the lingering ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka is still in the melting pot. All that can now be said is that Colombo's confused policy on the Tamil question is of receding relevance to the evolution of Delhi's new foreign policy in the unfolding post-Soviet period.

In spite of this new ground reality it can still be argued, of course, that the most recent phase of diplomatic lull on the Indo-Sri Lankan front is, in a sense, a sign of India's growing political maturity in dealing with the Tamil problem of its southern neighbour.

The current phase of India's seemingly benign neglect of the Tamil question in Sri Lanka is a case of reflex-reaction to the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. One cannot, of course, bet on the continuity of this policy of benign neglect. All the same it is clear that the Foreign Office in New Delhi has taken due note of the available evidence which could indict the LTTE for plotting and executing the evil deed.

It is in this relatively new context that India's response to the continuing crisis in Sri Lanka will be of immense interest to diplomats, academics and the casual readers alike. Unfortunately, however, the book under review consists of seminar papers that were prepared one year ago. In fact it passes one's comprehension why the editor-academic of this thin volume – who has a track record of keeping himself abreast of the developments on the Indo-Sri Lankan front – chose to put these papers together in September 1991, over three months after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, without the mandatory update.

Aware of this anomaly Mr. V. Suryanarayan says in his 'Preface' that 'the papers, prepared in March 1991, naturally do not cover the more recent happenings, but the assumptions and the rationale behind the arguments, still remain valid.' It is a point that cannot be easily brushed aside and the book should be read as a period-specific compilation.

M.K. Rasgotra is in a reminiscent mood in his 'introduction' to this collection of essays. He says: 'At one stage (during Indira Gandhi's premiership) the Sri Lankan Foreign Secretary came over all the way to personally ask me as a friend – at the time I was India's Foreign Secretary – whether India was contemplating an attack (on Sri Lanka) and what Sri Lanka should do to avert the same.'

Commenting on this 'unusual *demarche*' (Rasgotra's own phrase) he says that 'it signified the existence, at a critical time, of a certain trust between the two Foreign Offices at the highest professional levels.' He goes on to narrate: 'On Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's authority, I was able to reassure my Sri Lankan friend that no such catastrophe was in the offing. I took the opportunity to emphasise that the Sri Lankan Government on their part, would be wise to eschew the option of relying on military force to resolve the Tamil problem.'

This episode of a certain degree of 'trust' raises an intriguing question as to whether India, under Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, will now enjoy the same degree of Sri Lanka's confidence despite the recent storm over Delhi's role in the initial postponement of the SAARC summit that eventually took place in Colombo. After all Mr. Rao does give the impression of being a less abrasive leader than Indira Gandhi was either before or after she enunciated the so-called 'Indira doctrine' by asserting India's regional supremacy if not hegemony. It would have been more useful to the readers if Rasgotra had indicated as to when exactly Indira Gandhi reassured the Sri Lankans in response to a query that was comical but for its seriousness.

The seven papers in the book cover a wide spectrum of issues and merit the attention of serious students of Indo-Sri Lankan relations. Of particular interest is N. Ram's 'Understanding Prabhakaran's LTTE' (which was perhaps written even before March 1991). Drawing on his intimate professional knowledge of the ways and deeds of the LTTE and its leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran, N. Ram makes a telling comment: 'As the LTTE's Supreme Commander, his (Prabhakaran's) supreme moral accountability was to the ghosts of his comrades as much as to any (political) future (of the Sri Lankan Tamils).'

N. Ram's forthright conclusion in this period-specific paper, written well before Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, is also worth noting today – if you will, as an index of the complex unpredictability of the LTTE's actions. He says: 'After the IPKF experience, there is no danger of any serious section of political opinion in India romanticising the cause of Eelam and the image of the Sri Lankan Tamil militant. But it won't do to demonise the LTTE and its single-minded gifted leader.'

S. Chandrasekharan has, in his essay on the Thimpu talks, tried to give what is called 'an authentic account' of the India-brokered parleys between the representatives of the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil groups in the Bhutanese capital in 1985. But the article is not an inside story. It may be useful to those unfamiliar with the dynamics of political diplomacy.

An interesting aspect of the collection of essays is the attention paid to the Cinderella of the Indo-Sri Lankan scene – the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka. There is also a chapter on the implications of the Sri Lankan crisis for the politics of Tamil Nadu. Thomas Abraham has given a journalistic overview of the emerging trends as he saw them in March last year.

In a chapter replete with references to the viewpoint of others – which tend to rob the editor of his share of authenticity – he makes an observation (apparently, his own) that has not been overtaken by the subsequent events so far. He says: 'The track record of the LTTE with New Delhi and ruling parties in Tamil Nadu clearly shows that while the LTTE is prepared to take assistance from all quarters, it displays scant regard for Indian sensitivities. An act of defiance/intransigence, the LTTE leadership seems to think, is the hallmark of a revolutionary; but in the case of Sri Lankan Tamils, alienation of India, their natural friend, could lead to considerable difficulties.'

On the whole, despite the printing errors and the uneven editing, it is a book for the truly patient specialists.

P.S. Suryanarayana.

Private Tuition
Pure/Applied Mathematics, Statistics, Physics O/A Level. Homes visited.
Tel: 081 864 3227

READERS FORUM

'RE-EMERGENCE OF THE TULF'

I REFER to the above captioned article on page 4 of the 15th March 1992 issue of your esteemed journal.

I take strong exception to some of the matters mentioned by your Colombo correspondent and specially to the last paragraph of her piece. She stated that the TULF 'is the only party that didn't take to the gun'. This statement is as preposterous as it is untrue.

(1) The TULF has been held to be a militant organisation by the Sansoni Commission, which sat to inquire into the racial disturbances following the General Elections of 1977.

(2) The Tamil Eelam National Army (TENA) was the military wing of the TULF and was headed by one of the two sons of the late A. Amirthalingam.

(3) I was one of the candidates at the 1977 General Elections and was a witness to the speeches made on many TULF platforms exhorting the Tamil youth to militancy and violence.

(4) If there is one Tamil party (however insignificant it may be in the eyes of your correspondent) which did not take to the gun, it is the All Ceylon Tamil Congress.

Your correspondent is also wrong when she says that the TULF 'is one of the very few Tamil parties that has been consistent in its stance that the military option must not be pursued'. In fact, it is the position of every single Tamil political party and, I dare say, of every single Tamil, that a military option must not be pursued and that an acceptable devolution package must be offered to the Tamils.

By the way, at the 1989 General Elections, no TULF candidate was returned. It is only today by the efflux-ion of time, that the TULF can count on two members of Parliament.

Your correspondent has every right to want to build up the TULF, if that is indeed her brief. But she cannot ignore bald facts and try to re-write history.

Trying to whitewash our sins has been the curse of the Tamils.

G.G. Ponnambalam (Jr.)

General Secretary,
All Ceylon Tamil Congress,
Colombo 7, Sri Lanka.

RAJIV'S MURDER

IN our democratic system of justice, one is not guilty until proven. Hence it is wiser that you reserve judgement on the issue of Rajiv's murder to the Court of law rather than speculate. Investigative journalism is not wrong provided that you, while claiming to be independent do not publish articles which harm the Tamil cause.

If the articles published in your journal are true, one wonders why after eighteen months, no individual has been brought to trial. You have openly suggested that LTTE was solely responsible for the murder of Rajiv forgetting that hired assassins can nowadays be bought at no great expense. Organisations which have political ambitions twist the stories to suit their own cause.

One time great PLOT went down so low that they became mercenaries and tried to overthrow the Maldevian Government. Those caught and later released from jail have now joined the Sinhalese army as hired assassins killing their own Tamil brethren.

You are well advised to concentrate your efforts on matters such as these rather than being a judge and jury on purely speculative issues. Write about those politicians begging India for large financial aid not to feed the starving poor but to organise their future political status.

Pick your journalists who are loyal to the Tamil cause and not those who think that by discrediting the LTTE, they can pick up scraps from under the table. You have recently embarked on a mission of anti-LTTE propaganda assuming that by getting rid of them you will substitute an alternative system which in my opinion does not exist.

One day when the real killers of Rajiv are caught, you will probably have to swallow your own words. I can tell you, it will be hard. Perhaps for me too if my views are wrong.

R. Shoban

Green Lane,
Southall,
Middx. U.K.

FAIR COMMENT

I WISH to commend you on presenting both views regarding the LTTE in your journal of 15 April – 'Fate of Tamils in the Hands of the Tigers' and 'Defence of the Tigers is Morally and Politically Reprehensible'. This is fair comment.

However, I am not sure whether Sinhala extremists would use the latter article in parliament and elsewhere to attack the Tamils. It is a pity that Tamils are fighting Tamils instead of presenting a solid united front. I hope things would change.

Lt. Col. Anton J.N. Selvadurai

Stoke-on-Trent,
U.K.

TAMILS AND INDIA

I RECEIVED a copy of your journal (15 March 1992) from a Sri Lankan Tamilian friend who lives in the UK with a letter from him which expressed anxiety over the future of his parents and sister and her children who have been living in Tamil Nadu since 1985. He fears for the safety of his relatives if returned to Sri Lanka following the decision of the authorities here to repatriate the Sri Lankan Tamilian refugees to their country.

However what intrigued me most in your journal was the news report under the title 'Tigers to Take India Before World Court'. Perhaps the Tiger spokesman Mr. Anton Balasingham to whom this statement is attributed is ignorant of international law relating to how matters are brought up before the International Court of Justice. Neither the Tigers nor their expatriate supporters can take any matter before the Court. Only the government of a State recognised by the United Nations can do so.

The LTTE has caused enough damage to the interests of the Tamilians of Sri Lanka by their actions on Indian soil. Until recently, all Indians from north to south and east to west, all political parties and the state and central governments have been in full sympathy with our Tamilian brothers in Sri Lanka. Sadly this situation has now changed, even here in Tamil Nadu, and our brothers must realise that this is entirely due to the actions of the LTTE.

Those Sri Lankan Tamils living abroad should realise that by adopting a hostile position towards India, they are only hurting their own people, including my friend's family members.

R. Varatharajan

Mylapore,
Madras 600004.

FOR SALE

Large Double Fronted Sub-Post Office in London NW6, highly modernised, new counter, issuing road tax, **for sale.** *Salary £38,000 per annum. Stationery and Cards £500 per week. Tremendous scope. Leasehold £120,000. Freehold negotiable. Sale due to ill-health of partner. Business in same hands for 15 years. Box E 53 c/o Tamil Times.*

QUIZ CROSSWORDS – No. 16. Compiled by: Richards

Closing date for completed grid and coupon to be received is 30 June 1992.

Answers and the name of the winner – first all correct entry pulled out of a bag – will be announced in the July 1992 issue.

The winner will receive a prize of £20.00 sterling.

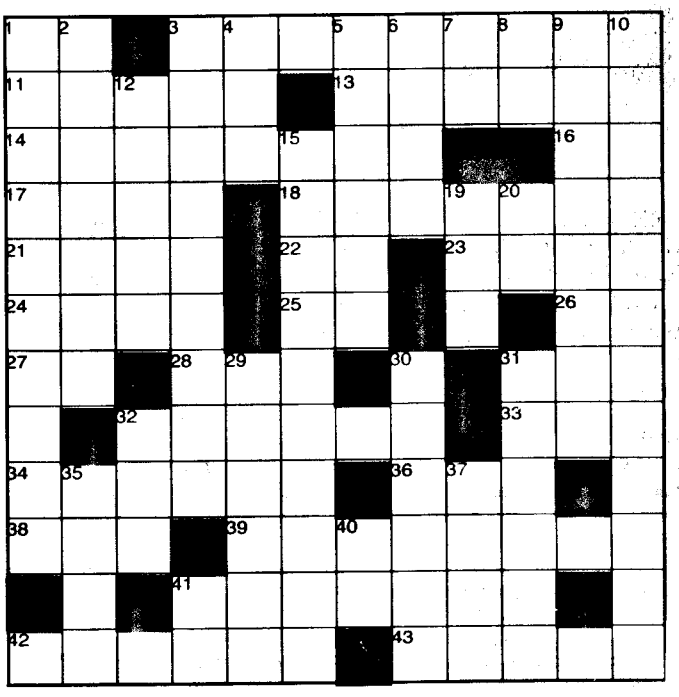
All entries should be sent to: Tamil Times, P.O. Box 121, Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD, UK.

Across.

1. Sacred syllable which typifies the Hindu triumvirate Brahma, Vishnu and Siva (2)
3. A Himalayan massif in Nepal (9)
11. President of his country since 1963 but he is no relation of Sri Lanka's 'Sinhala Only' premier (5)
13. A game of hide and seek for young children (2-4)
14. They live in a world of fantasy and illusions (8)
16. Below proof – alcohol, abb. (2)
17. One of two objects used as oracles, the other is Thummim, Old Testament (4)
18. South American people of the Andes including the Incas (7)
21. Manipulates in a fraudulent manner (4)
22. Prefixed to 'hill' indicates an arduous task (2)
23. Flow in an undulating manner (4)
24. Heap in a muddle (4)
25. One-hundredth of a kip in Laos (2)
26. Office Assistant popularly in Sri Lanka (2)
27. Touchdown briefly (2)
28. Again or afterwards (3)
31. A major workers union organisation in Britain, abb. (3)
32. Deep brownish crimson (6)
33. A particular variety of plantain used for cooking (3)
34. Refrigerated compartment for keeping frozen food (6)
36. Top pupil in a class or school in Scotland (3)
38. Youth Training Club (3)
39. Wellknown rock fortress in Sri Lanka (8)
41. Percentage deducted for goods liable to shrink or leak (7)
42. A community's bounteous mother – alma mater (6)
43. Birds of the air build them in so many fascinating ways (5)

Down:

1. Hard-heartedly (10)
2. Wedded (7)
3. Sri Lanka's sacred mountain (5,4)
4. Non-aligned Movement, abb. (3)
5. Sudden (6)
6. An affectation (4)
7. North Indian state, abb. (2)
8. Reference briefly (2)
9. Vague or lacking in form or shape (8)
10. Mountain system that extends from Quebec in Canada to central Alabama in the US (12)
12. A horsey expression (5)
15. Largely tropical (10)
19. Weep (3)
20. – Chi Minh City in Vietnam (2)
29 An art style associated with 39 Across (6)
30. He could be from North or South America or even from Asia (6)
31. What an aircraft does after 27 Across to reach the disembarkation point (6)
32. The world cricket body, abb. (3)
35. Concerns the ear (4)
37. Persuade (4)
40. Short general (2)
41. Musical note (2)



Quiz Crosswords – 14: Solutions.

Across: 1. Scorpio. 6. Crab. 10. Ah. 11. Urn. 12. Papua. 13. Give. 15. EP. 16. Gl. 17. ICI. 18. Aquarius. 20. Ragu. 21. Libra. 22. Tag. 24. Oil. 25. Ce. 26. Agog. 28. Box. 29. Ra. 30. Ely. 31. LA. 33. IRBM. 35. Cancer. 38. Pisces. 40. Hoi. 41. St. 43. No. 44. Nile. 46. Axis. 47. Taurus.

Down: 1. Sagittarius. 2. Chic. 3. Rue. 4. PR. 5. Iniquity. 6. Capricorn. 7. RP. 8. Augur. 9. Balsam. 12. Peal. 14. Virgo. 18. Ago. 19. Ibex. 23. Agar. 27. Gemini. 31. Leo. 32. Aries. 34. BP. 35. Cent. 36. Asia. 37. Cher. 39. SOS. 42. Ta. 45. Lu.

Winner: Brian Selvadurai, 6 Lord's Court, St John's Wood Road, London NW8 7HD.

Continued from page 27

frightened the JVP. This was a force which operated both within and outside the framework of democracy, and with a powerful figure of the ability and motivation of Udugampola behind them. In time, Udugampola moved from the Southern to the Northcentral and then to the Central Province, introducing this strategy to those who were left to command. Udugampola's estimate was accurate. At a time when everybody predicted that the JVP had come to stay, DIG Premadasa Udugampola predicted that they would be doomed by the end of 1989. In time the Udugampola strategy, 'fighting the enemy, their way' was adopted by the security forces engaged in anti-JVP operations. In this war, Udugampola was the theoretician and the protagonist.

Udugampola – the protagonist

The author met the most feared law enforcement officer Premadasa Udugampola in an attempt to fathom his thinking and his actions. When the Deputy Inspector General of Police was asked why the JVP considered him as the most dangerous and ruthless enemy, he said, 'They are not incorrect in categorising me in that manner. I was one who dropped very hard on them. I did not want a Pol Pot Regime to come and promote a lot of killings. It would have totally destroyed our culture.'

Both Udugampola's friends and enemies claim that his mother's death motivated him to adopt this attitude towards the enemy, but Udugampola claimed to the author, 'I am a seasoned police officer with 33 years of service. I never allow my heart to rule the head. It was a shock to me, but it never had a bearing on my activities against the JVP. I act rationally, not emotionally.' Referring to his family he said: 'It was a shock to me. Unfortunately they happen to be my mother, my brother, his wife and their two children. They are all victims of terrorism.' On his commitment towards eradicating the JVP militancy, Udugampola said: 'Giving into fear psychosis was quite wrong at a time when the country needed you. At such a moment, you should sacrifice yourself. You should not let your compatriots down.'

The DIG perceived his enemy in a new perspective and a new dimension. When he was questioned whether he believed that the JVP had a genuine grievance he claimed, 'no, the government on several occasions invited them for talks. The President publicly said that he was prepared to meet them; he even said that, he was prepared to come alone and meet them wherever they wanted to and even without his security. But the JVP opted for arms struggle; what they wanted was nothing but power.' This protagonist will go down in history as the man who fought a revolutionary movement which operated on the principle of fear psychosis by instilling fear into them and as a man who successfully copied enemy strategy in destroying them. In fact the first question Wijeweera asked the Ops combine team which apprehended him was, 'Are you from Kandy?' Udugampola had even terrified the leader and the military commander of the JVP.

CLASSIFIED ADS

First 20 words £10.
Each additional word 60p.
Charge for Box No. £3.
(Vat 17½% extra)
Prepayment essential

The Advertisement Manager,
Tamil Times Ltd, PO Box 121,
Sutton, Surrey SMI 3TD
Phone: 081-644 0972

MATRIMONIAL

Friends *seek for Sri Lankan Christian lady, single, 35, 5'4", professional accountant, male of similar status for marriage. Details and photo please M 586 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu doctor, *seeks partner for qualified daughter, 30, British citizen in good employment. Horoscope, details to M 587 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu father *seeks groom for fair, slim, attractive, 5'3" daughter, 25 years, presently studying in Australia. Reply with details, horoscope, photo. M 588 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *seek for 28-year-old Canadian resident son, B.Sc. Computer Science graduate employed in government sector, an educated Hindu vegetarian bride. Apply with horoscope. M 589 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu brother *seeks partner for sister, 36, working in London. Send details, horoscope, M 590 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *seek groom over 35 for attractive daughter, British citizen in good professional employment. Write with details. M 591 c/o Tamil Times.*

OBITUARIES

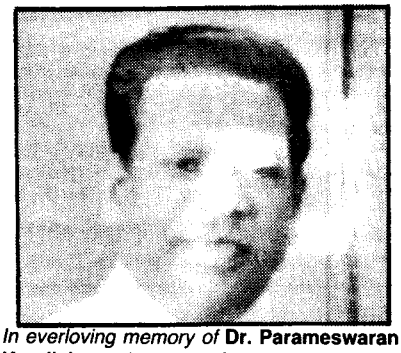
Mrs. Sivapackiam Kanagalingam *(65), beloved wife of the late Mr. S. Kanagalingam, retired Principal, Government Training College, Colombogam, Jaffna; loving mother of Shadhadcharan, Panchadcharan and Iyankaran (all of Sri Lanka); cousin of the late Mrs. Balambal Rasanayagam, Mahadevan (New Zealand), Sahadevan (Colombo), Rajadevan (Toronto), Vamadevan (Colombo) and Mrs. Neelambal Viyakesparan, passed away in Colombo on 18th May 1992 and was cremated on 19th May. – 18 Jayawardena Avenue, Dehiwela, Sri Lanka.*

IN MEMORIAM

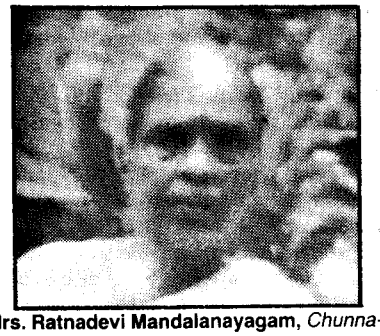
In memory of **Mrs. Maheswary Sabaratnam)** *who passed away on 21 May 1989.*

Just as you were
You will always stay
Loved and remembered
Every Day

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by daughters Menakai, Sarojini, Sakuntala; sons-in-law Thanabal, Sothi, Sivaramalingam; grand children Sumathy, Sritharan, Sriram, Sinanee, Subethira, Shanthi, Vanee, Tilly, Arjunan and great grand children Gajan, Kumaran, Luximi, Radha, Jonathan, Jennifer, Jason, Sarangan, Dharshini and Maheswary Jannanie. – 23 Arthur Street, Winchester, MA 01890, USA.



In everloving memory of **Dr. Parameswaran Kandiah** *on the* **second** *anniversary of his passing away on 12.5.1990. Sorrowfully remembered by his beloved wife Pathmasany and loving children Thayalan and Pathanjali – 29 Mounston Close, Hartside Grange, Hartlepool TS26 0LR, U.K.*



Mrs. Ratnadevi Mandalanayagam, *Chunnakam, Sri Lanka.*

Born: 11.1.1918 Died: 17.5.88

Your love and affection we will ever cherish.

Sadly missed and fondly remembered on fourth anniversary of her passing away by her children, grandchildren, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law. – 'Greenacres', 63 Sandown Park Tunbridge Wells, Kent, TN2 4RT, U.K.

S.R. Remembered

Affectionately S.R. Kanaganayagam was Ayah to his friends and relatives, S.R. to his peers and 'Senator' to his visitors. All of them without exception, held this son of Jaffna in great esteem. It is three years this month since Mr. Kanaganayagam passed away suddenly in the bosom of his daughter's family in Australia, the news was received with great shock and a sense of tremendous loss.

It was my privilege and that of my children to know S.R. and his family during his latter years as a counsellor, friend and a fellow alumnus of Jaffna College. Together and with a number of others from Vaddukoddai and the surrounding villages, we spoke for the role the great institution should play for the larger interests of the Tamils and advocated the creation of a Community College. His love for his alma mater was unquestionable and it had all the marks and characteristics of the Bicknellian ideals which was total commitment to the needs and welfare of the entire community.

He was one of Sri Lanka's most accomplished lawyers. Wherever he went or whatever Court in which he appeared he made a dramatic impact with not only his brilliant advocacy but with his equable sense of humour as well. He was never ruffled, always bonhomous and ready-witted and was an epitome of courtesy.

He was loved by his clients and no doubt equally loathed by litigants who found his cross-examination an exhausting experience. His was a legal brain that would have taken him to the highest judicial position in the country, if he had so desired. But he loved his roots in Jaffna and was not one who sought power and position with an avidity.

In court he had a mannerism that gave confidence to his clients and his art of cross-examination was unique in many ways. A witness has to be honest to have a chance to survive his questions and to Mr. Kanaganayagam, a trial was a judicial inquiry in which facts were presented for a just decision with the right of legal representation for the parties in the action. It was not a stage for acrimonious battles.

Mr. Kanaganayagam led an organised life and gave his children all the ideals of a good father. He had a very kind and supportive wife who was a source of sheer inspiration to him. She was his greatest joy and he prided in it. He had a special love for children – everybody's children. His colleagues knew that in him their families had a trusted friend and he was a much loved doyen of the Jaffna Bar.

Continued on page 37

Continued from page 36

In many ways a traditional and a lover of the arts and the rich attributes of the Tamil culture, Mr. Kanaganayagam's advice was sought by many on various matters of community interests. He was a member of the Senate where he distinguished himself as an able debator and a good parliamentarian. He saw the future of the Tamils within a national egalitarian system rather than that of narrow fundamentalism but was consigned to the sideline with those who watched helplessly the political and economic ruination of the country.

But he stayed among his people right in the heart of Jaffna City through all the turmoil they were undergoing. When he embarked on his flight to Australia for a well-deserved holiday, none of us suspected that it was going to be his first stage of a journey that was eventually going to end up in the regions of immortality. His was a life well lived – lived as a good family man, a good friend and a useful citizen. Those of us who knew him have a part of him within us and are very much blessed and richer for it.

Richards Karunairajan.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

June 4 *Chathurthi.*

June 11 *Ekathashi.*

June 13 *8.00pm* **Suriya Kumari** *presents 'Singing Hearts & Dancing Feet' at Purcell Room, South Bank Centre, London SE1. Tel: 071 928 8800.*

June 14 *Full Moon.*

June 20 *7.00pm* **Samarpanam of Vocal Recital** *by* **Miss Sujaya Chandran** *at Shree Ghanapathy Temple, 123-133 Effra Road, London SW19. All welcome.*

June 21 *1.00pm International Tamil Foundation's 4th Anniversary* **Lunch and Lecture** *by* **Christopher Morris,** *B.B.C. & Guardian Correspondent in Colombo at Putney Leisure Centre, Upper Richmond Road, London SW15. Tel: 0734 429467.*

June 25 *7.30pm Asian Music Circle presents* **Ravi Shankar on Sitar** *at Royal Festival Hall, South Bank Centre, London SE1. Tel: 071-928 8800.*

June 30 *Ammavasai*

At the Bhavan Centre, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ. Tel: 071 381 3086/4608

June 6 *5.30pm* **Mahabharata Lecture** *by* **Sri Mathoor Krishnamurti.**

June 7 *7.00pm* **Tagore Songs & Dance** *by Bhavans Teachers, Staff & Students. All Welcome.*

June 19 *7.45pm* **Kuchipudi Dance** *by* **Swapnasundari.**

June 20 *5.30pm* **Mahabharata Lecture** *by* **Sri Mathoor Krishnamurti.**

June 26 *7.45pm* **Veena Recital** *by* **Geetha Rao.**

June 27 *7.00pm* **Bharata Natyam** *by* **Keshava Nrityashala.**

June 28 *6.30pm* **Sitar** *by* **Shiva Taralaghatti.**

Tamil Radio Programme

Starting from 24th May 1992 on Love FM (Voice of North London) 100.8 FM, Sundays from 9 to 11pm. For details Tel: 081 904 5939.

Sujaya's Vocal Arangetram

In Sanskrit, 'Su' means 'Sobanam' and denotes something auspicious, 'Jaya' means one who attains victory. So, true to her name, Selvi Sujaya Chandran came to the Bhavan, ascended the stage and conquered the audience on that red letter day in her musical career, the 18th of April, 1992.

The Lord Mountbatten Auditorium was jam-packed well before the start time. The stage was well set with an appropriate decor, bedecked with multi coloured fresh chrysanthemums placed on magnum vases and tall Tanjore lamps, with Goddess Saraswathi's portrait watching blessingly, as it were, the youngster's performance.

Sujaya's good vocal endowment and Sruthi gnana were evident the moment she started the Kaanada Varnam Nera Nammithi. The raga touches in Nattai, Vasantha and the full scale ragas Ranjani and Abheri marked her out as a potentially outstanding artiste. The ragam kalyani was not so well delineated but the thanam which followed was of a high order for one who is just a new entrant even to the teen-age category. The pallavi was faultlessly rendered. In the next raga Suddha Saveri, Sujaya appeared, however to overreach herself, although the neraval and the swaraprasthara were well handled. Of the 'thukkadas' Aaduthu Par in Karnataka Devagandhari stood out. The nuances of difficult ragas like Desika Thodi and Sindhu Bhairavi in the further Tamil compositions which followed and of rag yaman in the Sai Bhajan Narayana were pleasingly brought out, which is indeed a tribute to her Guru Srimathi Saraswathy Packiarajah whose prowess as a composer was revealed in her Sivaranjani thillana.

Dr. Srimathi Lakshmi Jayan excelled herself on the violin with appropriately brief but delectable portrayal of ragas and swaraprastharas.

The percussion duo Nathamani Sri Muthu Sivarajah on Miruthangam and Sri Ravi Shanker on the ghatam offered a rich and crisp fare. Selvi Gayatri Manikkavasagan provided the tampura support. A neat compering of the event was done by Dr. Manjubhashini.

Towards the close, repeated encomia were showered on Sujaya, Dr. John Marr, the chief guest describing her as a 'budding artiste of such power, talent and joy' and Sri Mathoor Krishnamoorthy extolling her as a 'child prodigy'. I would like to add my own tribute to her in terms of my pride and pleasure at the great strides she has made from the day we in the London Music circle spotted her talent and awarded her a first prize in the junior vocal competition. However, amidst all this praise, I would like to add a note of friendly caution: an Arangetram is only the first launching pad, and she has 'miles to go' before she can establish herself and the first priority should be hard work and practice, on top of the innate talent and the Gurubhakthi that she already has.

P.P. Kanthan

Kalata Kalyanam

Kalatakalyanam, best described as the rumbustious wedding, staged at the Salisbury Hall in Edmonton, London, on 28 March had the audience in uproarious splits and raptures. The hall was packed to capacity and the boisterous nature of the play, so well performed, delighted even those who had to stand in the sides that evening.

The play bordered on the injustice of the caste system that has lasted virtually unchallenged through the ages. May be this is the reason why Buddhism has not flourished in India! The author of Kalatakalyanam had woven the play to highlight this evil using humour as the vehicle of his revolutionary message.

Whatever the pros and cons of the system be, the play that evening was well performed and the director Manoharan who also played the main role and his team deserve our congratulations.

Dr. Siva

St Albans, Herts.

Sports Festival in Vardoe, Norway

The Tamil Union of Vardoe organised its annual sports festival during the easter holidays from 18th to 20th April 1992. Volleyball and Football tournaments were conducted in the Vardoe Stadium. Twenty four teams from Mehamn, Botsfjord, Tromsoe, Narvik, Vardoe, Svolvar, Alta, Berlevog, Soroya and Hamerfest communes participated in this tournament, which was worked out from 7am to 10pm each day. There was a large number of spectators both Tamils and Norwegians present. In volleyball, Botsfjord (A) and Botsfjord (B) won the first and second places. In football, the first and second places were won by Botsfjord (B) and Alta (A) teams.

Dr. K. Rupamoorthy, former Lecturer of Jaffna University was the chief guest and the programme was organised and conducted by Mr. K. Sivasundaram, Consultant, Settlement Project, Vardoe.

British Columbian Tamils Celebrate New Year

Kerrisdale Community Hall in Vancouver was overflowing with British Columbian Tamils when they met on 26th April to celebrate the Hindu new year with a grand cultural show. It commenced with a magic show by guest artiste Priyantha Gamage, a 26-year-old deaf and dumb lad from Matara, Sri Lanka, whose highly entertaining performance was the talk of the town. The artiste was highly appreciative of the hospitality accorded and the reception. It was followed by group singing by the pupils of Mrs. Chitra Ravichandran and a scintillating performance of 'Kuraththi' dance to the western beat by the students of Mrs. Muthuluxmi Krishnan. Miss Renuka Rajamahendran gave a highly appreciated Carnatic Recital and this was followed by a talk on 'Traditional Music of Eelam' by Prof. Rajamahendran.

There was a musical interlude provided by M.S. Rajah on flute, Elmo Rajah on Tabla, Thirmulan on Miruthangam accompanying their troupe and popstar Anthony Gajendragopan. Gayathiri Kugathasan and Wiji Karthigeyan sang accompanied by Sam Aruliah on Piano and Rex and Ray Pillai on Violin and Vini Kunanithy read a piece on 'Thiyagamum Sevaiyum'. 'Koladdam' was performed by the Richmond students trained by Mrs. Chitra Ravichandran and Mrs. Srimathy Kandasamy.

The grand finale was the stage play 'Kalyanamam Kalyanam', in traditional verse and prose written by Karaveddy Nadarajah.

BBC Tamil Service Every Day

The BBC Tamil Service is on the air seven days a week, adding Sundays to its present six-day schedule. The Tamil audience is now around one million regular listeners, and the number of letters has increased by nearly 5000 over the last year. Despite being one of the smallest of the BBC's language services, it receives the second largest number of letters, with one in 20 of its listeners writing to the BBC. After the Gulf War, the Tamil Service received more letters than all the other services put together.

The emphasis of the new Sunday transmission will be on entertainment, with drama, music, culture and sport, as well as regular news and current affairs. The transmissions are at 2115-2145 (IST, Sri Lanka), 2345-0015 (Singapore, Malaysia) on 7105, 9605 and 11955 kHz in the 41, 31 and 25 metre bands.

Congratulations Surulikka

London's Battersea Grand Hall was the venue on Sunday 22nd March of the arangetram of Kumari Surilikka Loganathan, a sishya of Srimati Vinothini Shanmuganthan and a dance student from the Shree Ganapathy Temple, Wimbledon.

Her performance which included a number of the traditional repertoire of a Bharata natya concert indicated her mastery of this classical dance form and left the audience in no doubt that she has blossomed into a promising artiste.

Her rendering of Jathiswaram in raga Hamsanathi, Varnam a most elaborate and demanding dance which combines the three basics – Nritta (pure dance), Nrithya (expression) and Natya (acting) in Nataikurinji, and Patham the cosmic dance of Lord Siva, in a lovely garland of choice ragas deserve a special note of appreciation. She was very well supported on the stage by her guru with nattuvangam, Srimati Ambika Thamotharam (vocal), Sri Muthu Sivarajah (mridangam), Srimati Kalaivani Indrakumar (violin), Dr. Nimalaraj (flute), and Sri Sithamparanathan (morsing).

Life Skills Training

Sushila Nadarajah, a training consultant is to conduct life skills training courses specially for Asian women. The residential courses will be carried out in the tranquil surroundings of Stratford-on-Avon.

The course will examine issues surrounding confidence, assertiveness, communication and interaction, image projection, time and stress management. Women are encouraged to evaluate their skills and experiences and seek alternative routes in their lives.

Sushila has designed and conducted a variety of training programmes for women in the last ten years. They include management training, business counselling, career planning etc.

Recession has affected many Asian women. They have either lost their jobs or facing redundancy or coping with pressures in their small businesses. Sushila feels that this is the time to stop and evaluate their life skills. Her courses enable participants to take stock of their experiences and seek the Turning Point which gives them conviction and courage to move forward positively.

Life skills training programmes aimed at Asian women will be conducted during June, July, August '92 in Stratford-on-Avon. For further information contact: **Sushila Nadarajah, Turning Point, 33 Bridgetown Road, Stratford-on-Avon, Warks. CV37 7JH. Tel: 0789-269382.**

5th International Conference on Tamil Culture

The Fifth International Conference on Tamil Culture is to be held from 3rd to 5th October 1992 at New South Wales University, Sydney. Earlier conferences were held in France, Malaysia, India and Mauritius. Dr. N. Sriskandarajah is the Chairperson of the coordinating committee and S. Balendra is the conference secretary. The other members of the committee are Mrs. D. Balasubramaniam, A. Govander, M. Mudeliar, Dr. P. Nallathamby, Prof. P. Poologasingam, Dr. K.C. Rajendran, G. Santhiran, M. Somasundaram, M. Thanapalasingam and V.S. Thurairajah. Details may be obtained from the Secretary, ICTC 92, P.O. Box S60, Homebush, NSW 2140, Australia. Phone 02 649 6379. Fax. 02 749 2390.

New Solicitors

The following are among those who have been successful at the Law Society Winter Examination for Solicitors held recently in U.K.

P.P. Arulampalam, U. Duraisingam, M. Gengatharan, A. Gnanathasan, T. Kumaramoorthy, N. Mahendra, J.R. Mariathasan, J.A. Rajakariar, J.C. Santhiapillai and C. Sivaguru.

New York Tamils Observe New Year by Feeding the Homeless Poor

The Tamil community of New York and New Jersey areas, observed Tamil New Year's Day by feeding some of the homeless poor of New York on Saturday, April 18th.

More than four hundred people were fed to a sumptuous sit-down meal of traditional American fare complete with home-baked cheese cakes. The feeding took place simultaneously in three different locations – Lutheran Trinity Church, a Project Hospitality site for homeless single mothers and children, and an Outreach shelter for homeless men – all in the borough of Staten Island in New York City.

The fund-raising for the event was led by the President of the Tamil Sangam, Dr. Krishnan. Help was provided by practicing physicians of Staten Island and Brooklyn besides officials and volunteers from Lutheran Trinity Church and Project Hospitality.

New York Tamil Sangam is a non-profit organization which organizes cultural events such as Pongal – the Harvest Festival of South India, Mutthamil Vila – a celebration of Tamil prose, poetry, music and mime and Kutthar Thiru Naal, Bharata Natyam Contest for talented amateurs. For more information, call or fax the cultural advisor for the Sangam, Mr. Kabaliswaran at 718 377 6491.

Eleanor Travel

Air Lanka Main Agent

Trichy, Trivandrum from £450
Madras from £460

If all you want is a cheap fare,
a few agents may match ours.

If you also want excellent service,
Our staff provide the best.

For the cheapest fares and most efficient service, book early with...

Eleanor Travel

London ❖ Paris
238–246 King Street
London W6 ORF.

ABTA

IATA

Tel • 081 741 7993 Fax • 081 748 4912

Personal Possessions

☆ SPORT POLO/SWEAT SHIRTS ☆ JOG PANTS ☆
FOR SALE

Sport polo shirts	*(embroidered)*	*: £ 9.50*	*Child sizes*	*(embroidered)*	*: £ 5.15*
Sweat shirts	*(")*	*: £ 13.65*	*Child sizes*	*(")*	*: £ 6.45*
Jog pants	*(")*	*: £ 10.95*	*Child sizes*	*(")*	*: £ 5.15*

★ Sweat shirts, jog pants suits less £1.95
★ Names can be embroidered
★ Plain items also available
★ Special badges & crest can be embroidered, provided orders are in multiples of ten pieces
★ Special discounts can be arranged on orders in multiples of ten pieces
★ Please allow 28 days for delivery
★ Our organisation is primarily interested in helping with food & medical aid to Jaffna
★ All orders are free of postage & packing in mainland UK
★ For all orders outside UK, price on application for postage & packing. For large quantities please contact address below
★ Polo shirts, sweat shirts & jog pants come in sizes: small, medium, large, extra large & children
★ Colours available: Black, navy blue, royal blue, red, wedgewood blue, white, jade, mint, lilac & lemon

Cheques made payable to : *Personal Possessions*
and send to: 6 Kitchener Road, East Finchley, London N2 8AS. Tel: 081-883 8723

• PEGASUS • NOVELL • HEWLETT PACKARD • INTEL • SOVEREIGN SAGE • EPSON • PANASONIC • CANNON • MITAC • PHILIPS • ASHTON TATE • NEC • MICROSOFT • WORDPERFECT • COMSOL

COMSOL
COMPUTER SYSTEMS

Friendly Professionals for all Your Personal and Business Computing requirements

- Sales
- Installations
- Maintenance & Repairs
- Consultancy
- Software Development

• WORD PROCESSING • ACCOUNTING •
• DESKTOP PUBLISHING • COMMUNICATIONS •
• MULTI USER/SINGLE USER SYSTEMS •

Visit us or call
Mr R. Ganeshalingam or Mr M. Vassan
Comsol Systems (UK) Limited
54 Upper Tooting Road, London SW17 7PD
Tel: 081-672 2343

EUROLANKA INTERNATIONAL

CASTLE HOUSE
25 Castlereagh Street, London W1H 5YR.
(near Marble Arch Tube Station)
TELEPHONE
071-258 3999 (weekday office hours)
071-262 5367 & 071-723 1439 (seven days)
We are also open on Saturday/Sunday 10am–2pm

AIR TRAVEL

London-Colombo-London
from £390

BEST FARES TO:
★ SINGAPORE
★ BANGKOK
★ HONG KONG
★ JAPAN
★ SYDNEY
★ MELBOURNE
SPECIAL DISCOUNT
on airfares for customers shipping over 100 cu.ft to Sri Lanka.

SHIPPING

TEA CHEST TO *SRI LANKA*
£10
(other goods £2 cu.ft)
To Australia-Canada-USA & most other destinations
FROM £20
REASONABLE COLLECTION CHARGES
Other services available
Door-to-door service
customs clearance in Colombo & UK
VAT refund service
Cargo insurance

Colombo branch: CEY-ON INTERNATIONAL, 161 Galle Road, Colombo 3, Sri Lanka. Tel: 436666

jehangir
a taste of paradise

The best of Sri Lankan cuisine in a tropical and relaxing atmosphere

67 Sydenham Rd.
London SE26
081-676 8641

Special Fares

COLOMBO £440	COLOMBO £430	COLOMBO £390
MADRAS £440	TRIVANDRUM £440	BOMBAY £345
TORONTO £189	NEW YORK £189	CALCUTTA £425
SYDNEY £599	MELBOURNE £599	SINGAPORE £450
PARIS £79	AMSTERDAM £69	MALAGA £99

RATHBONE HOLIDAYS
55 RATHBONE PLACE,
LONDON W1 P1AB
TEL: 071-580 4460

WE ALSO OFFER OUR CLIENTS THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL BENEFITS:
* *ATTRACTIVE RATES IN LEADING SRI LANKAN HOTELS INCLUDING RAMADA, HILTON, TAJ AND INTER-CONTINENTAL*
* *AN EXCLUSIVE FREE TRANSPORT SERVICE TO ALL OUR AIRLANKA PASSENGERS FROM THE AIRPORT TO COLOMBO MUNICIPAL LIMITS*